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EDWARD HYDE,

EARL OF CLARENDON

OB. 1674.

MONK'S CONTEMPORARIES.

BIOGRAPHIC STUDIES

ON

THE ENGLISH REVOLUTION.

BY

M. GUIZOT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH

BY

ANDREW R. SCOBLE.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
1851.

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WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.

PREFACE.

In the English Revolution, two figures, Charles I. and Cromwell, tower above all others, and fill the history. Among the personages who, though they do not so largely occupy the stage, took a considerable part in the scene, Monk is not the only one who deserves to be closely studied and intimately known. When I published my "Collection des Mémoires relatifs à la Revolution d'Angleterre," I prepared sketches of the principal actors, and particularly of those who were at once actors and historians, similar to that which I had already written of General Monk. I have now collected these biographic studies into a volume; all of them have been carefully revised and completed, and some are entirely new. They constitute, together with Monk, a sort of gallery of portraits, in which personages of the most different character appear in juxtaposition—chiefs or champions of sects or parties, Parliamentarians, Cavaliers, Republicans, Levellers,—who, either at the termination of the

political conflicts in which they were engaged, or when in retirement towards the close of their lives, resolved to describe themselves, their own times, and the part they played therein. In the drawing together of such men, and in the mixture of truth and vanity which characterises such works, there is, unless I am greatly mistaken, abundance to interest persons of serious and curious minds, especially amongst us and in our times; for in spite of the great diversity of manners, contemporary comparisons and applications will present themselves at every step, however careful we may be not to seek them.

GUIZOT.

Paris, March, 1851.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

To dilate upon the character of the present work, after the ample explanation given by M. Guizot in his own Preface, would be superfluous; but a few words in reference to the circumstances under which it was originally composed, may not be out of place, as it belongs to a most interesting period of its distinguished author's career. About thirty years ago, whilst M. Guizot was Professor of History at the Sorbonne, he published some pamphlets on political questions, which gained for him the ill-will of the ministry of the day. Upon this, his enemies sought to drive him from the university, and to deprive him of bread; but their machinations only stimulated him to increased effort, and he nobly replied to their attacks by the publication of his "Collection of Memoirs relating to the History of the Revolution in England." This great work, which extended to twenty-seven volumes, was enriched by him with copious annotations, and biographical sketches of

the various authors whose works he had translated. These sketches he has recently revised and enlarged; and they are now presented to the British public, for the first time, in a complete form.

It only remains for me to add, that I am indebted to my friend Mr. R. M. Theobald for a translation of several of the articles; and that an English version of M. Guizot's new work on the History of Representative Government is in active preparation, and will speedily be published.

A. R. SCOBLE.

London, July, 1851.

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MONK'S CONTEMPORARIES.

DENZIL HOLLIS.

[1597—1681.]

In order properly to understand a revolution, we must consider it at its origin and termination—in the earliest plans which it puts forth, and in the definitive results which it attains. In these its true character is revealed; by these we may judge what were the real thoughts and wishes of the people among whom it took place. All that occurs between these two periods is more or less factitious, transitory, and deceptive. The stream winds and wanders in its course; two points alone, its source and its mouth, determine its direction.

Just in this manner, during the course of a revolution, parties are formed and transformed, divided and subdivided, and seize the empire by turns, to lose it again each in its turn; but that is really the national party which appears at the origin and termination of the crisis—which, after having begun the war and endured all its vicissitudes, finds itself, at last, strong and wise enough to restore peace.

This honour belonged, in England, to the Presbyterian party, and to the political, rather than to the religious, reformers of that party. The English revolution, in 1640, took its first steps, and committed its first faults, under the guidance of the Presbyterians; in 1688, it was accomplished and concluded under the banner of the Whigs—a new party, very different from the Presbyterians, but inheriting their essential principles of public liberty and national government. They constituted, at that period, the national party in England.

Denzil Hollis, the younger son of the Earl of Clare, born at Haughton, Nottinghamshire, in 1597, was one of the most

important and honourable members of this party; we meet with him at every step in the events of his lifetime, and all his contemporaries bear testimony to his worth. "He was," says Clarendon, "as much valued and esteemed by the whole party as any man; as he deserved to be, being of more accomplished parts than any of them, and of great reputation by the part he acted against the court and the Duke of Buckingham, in the Parliament of 1628."* Burnet says, "He was a man of great courage, and of as great pride; he was counted for many years the head of the Presbyterian party. He was faithful and firm to his side, and never changed through the whole course of his life. He was well versed in the records of Parliament: and argued well, but too vehemently; for he could not bear contradiction. He had the soul of an old stubborn Roman in him. He was a faithful but a rough friend, and a severe but fair enemy. He had a true sense of religion: and was a man of an unblamable course of life, and of a sound judgment when it was not biassed by passion."†

Hollis's first steps in life seemed to destine him to favour rather than to opposition. When he left college, he was attached to the person of the Duke of York, afterwards Charles I., and lived for some time on terms of the most intimate familiarity with that prince, accompanying him in the chase, partaking in his pleasures, and sometimes even sharing his bed. But he had been brought up by a haughty father, who openly lamented the departed glories of Elizabeth's splendid court, and despised James I., his timid pretensions, his contemptible pride, his avaricious countrymen, and his shameful favourites. "He who fears his enemy does not love his friend,"‡ was the device of the Earl of Clare, and his son remained faithful to the motto. In 1624, young Hollis was elected to represent a Cornish borough in the House of Commons, during the last Parliament of King James, and took an active part in the defence of the public liberties. In the following year, on his accession to the throne, Charles withdrew the seals from Williams, Bishop of Lincoln, a friend of the Earl of Clare. The earl considered himself affronted. The king informed his two sons that he would make them

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion (Oxford, 1819), vol. i., p. 276.
† Burnet's History of his own Time (Oxford, 1823), vol. i., pp. 166-167.
‡ "Qui inimicum timet, amicum non amat."

Knights of the Bath at his coronation; but both refused the honour. Denzil even declined to take part in a brilliant masquerade in which the king had assigned him a place.* In matters both of business and festivity, in affairs which concerned either the interests of the state or his own personal relations, he already displayed that passionate haughtiness, that fidelity to his cause, his friendships and his enmities, that mixture of popular principles and aristocratic feelings, which were destined subsequently to make him one of the most active founders of that great Whig party, which has done so much for the credit of the British nobility, and for the liberty of the English people.

It was in 1628, during the Parliament rendered famous by the Petition of Rights, that his political activity really commenced; he was then one of the most ardent opponents of the court, the Duke of Buckingham, and all the oppressive measures under which the country groaned. On the 2nd of March, 1629, the Speaker of the Commons, in obedience to the orders of the king, was about to declare the adjournment of the House, and to leave his chair, when Mr. Hollis made him resume his seat, and kept him there by force, saying: "God's wounds, Mr. Speaker, you shall sit still till it please the House to rise."† Charles I. had overstepped his lawful authority; the Opposition followed his example; and both parties hurried rapidly along this fearful road. After the dissolution of the Parliament, Hollis and several others were cited before the Privy Council, for what they had said and done in the House. Hollis was the first interrogated. "Wherefore," he was asked, "did you, contrary to your former use, that morning that the tumult was in the lower House of Parliament, place yourself above divers of the privy councillors, by the chair?"—"At some other times, as well as then," he answered, "I have seated myself in that place; and as for my sitting above the privy councillors, I take it to be my due in any place wheresoever, unless at the council-board." In the course of his examination, he protested that he came into the House with as great zeal for his majesty's service as any one, but added, that as his majesty was offended with him, he humbly desired that he might rather

* Biographia Britannica, in the life of his father, John Hollis, Earl of Clare, vol. iv., p. 2641.

† Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. ii., col. 490.

be the subject of his mercy than of his power. "You mean rather of his majesty's mercy than of his justice," said the Lord Treasurer.—"I said of his majesty's power, my lord," replied Hollis.* He was condemned to pay a fine of one thousand silver marks, and was sent to prison, where he remained for more than a year. Nearly all his friends met with the same fate, and Charles, thus freed from the parliamentary Opposition, reigned for twelve years with blind confidence, as if the day of retribution were never to arrive.

It came, however, and the Opposition re-appeared in the Parliament of 1640, much more exasperated and powerful than it had ever been before. Charles found himself face to face with, and at the mercy of, those men whom he had treated as insolent and impotent rebels. Hampden, Pym, and Hollis were, from the first, the declared leaders of the Reforming and Presbyterian party, in whose train followed all the future factions, as yet unaware of their own existence, and striving only to hasten forward the general movement. Strafford's trial placed Hollis, for a short time, in a painful dilemma: Strafford had married his sister, Arabella Hollis, and the difference of their political opinions had not interfered with their friendship. As a member of the committee appointed to examine into the charges brought against Strafford, Hollis strove to save the head of his brother-in-law, by attributing his conduct to the pressure of public violence. Secret negotiations commenced between the king and the chiefs of the reform party. A cabinet was projected of which the leaders were to form part, and, when in office, to reform the government according to the wishes of the country. Hollis was to be made Secretary of State. The life of Strafford and the maintenance of the Church were the price of this concession. The king assented to this plan, but soon grew cold, lent his ear to other counsels, and conspired against the Parliament, while continuing to negotiate with it. Whilst the king was hesitating and deceiving, Strafford was accused, judged, and condemned. Another negotiation was then set on foot, that the Commons should rest satisfied with his banishment. Hollis conducted it, it is said, with some success in the Commons. The king promised to go in person, and present the earl's petition to the Houses. Hollis had drawn up the speech which his majesty was to deliver. But the king did

* Hansard's Parliamentary History, col. 504.

not keep his promise, though made sincerely, any more than he kept those which were forcibly extorted from him. Strafford's head fell, and Hollis plunged into the whirlwind which swept over the country.

He was sincere, resolute, and high-spirited. He asserted and defended the liberties of England, just as a gentleman would assert and defend his own personal rights. In his eyes the Parliament was the people, and the House of Commons the Parliament. To secure the decided and continual preponderance of the House of Commons in the Parliament, while paying due respect to the Crown and the House of Lords, was, in his opinion, and in that of all the Presbyterian party, first, the right of the country, and secondly, the only means of abolishing the tyranny of the King, the Church, and the Court. Hollis marched forward to this object, ever in the foremost rank, by all ways, over all obstacles, accepting, that he might surmount them, sometimes the assistance of an insurrection, and at others the subtleties of legists. And when, after two years' duration, the parliamentary struggle ended in the civil war, Hollis no more hesitated to maintain his rights by arms than he had formerly hesitated to assert and demand them. He raised a regiment, took his position, as colonel, in the army under the command of the Earl of Essex, and on the 12th of November, 1642, his regiment, though unassisted, stopped the march of the royal army for some time at Brentford, seven miles from London, and prevented it from falling unexpectedly upon the city.

Neither Hollis nor his party entertained any subversive designs, either against royalty or English society; they merely intended to maintain the legal government of their country; but they were far from suspecting what a difficult and dangerous transformation that government would have to undergo, before the House of Commons could become its mainspring; and their error was to believe that, by appealing to force, they alone would be the gainers, and could measure its employment at their will. When force, however, has once taken possession of society, no one can tell what it will do, whither it will go, or who will make use of it, and with what intentions. There begins at once a series of unlimited and obscure occurrences which surpass the foresight and will of men; occurrences which sometimes ennoble nations and found good governments, but from which contem-

poraries, very erroneously, hope to educe a success much more prompt and personal than the advantage of their posterity.

When the Presbyterians saw that their hopes were deceived they were astounded, and quite unwilling to suppose that their faults had anything to do with their reverses; and soon they found fresh cause for indignation, in the discovery that the Independents, the Republicans, the army, and Cromwell were employing against them the same artifices and the same violence which they had themselves put in practice against the king's partisans. What marvel that one portion of the Parliament believed itself justified in making war against another, when the Parliament had itself made war against the king, an integral part of every parliament! Why should not the Independents have eliminated the Presbyterians from the House of Commons, when the Presbyterians had already eliminated therefrom so many royalists, for no other reason than that they were hampered and hindered by their resistance? The design of the Independents was, it is true, subversive of the entire fabric of English society, and contrary to the wishes of the nation; that of the Presbyterians was moderate and national: thus, one of the two parties passed by like a terrible accident, the other resumed vigour to oppose its enemies, and finally gained the victory. But as for the means employed, as for the illegal and tyrannical use of force, one had opened out the way for the other; it was by walking in the footsteps of the Presbyterians that the Independents learned to tread them under foot.

Parties will never acknowledge such a similarity; and, of his faction, Hollis would have been the last to recognise it, for he was the most passionate of all the moderate reformers. But passion is full of both blindness and penetration. If it conceals faults, it discovers perils. Hollis quickly perceived the gravity of the dangers which the Independents and Cromwell were preparing for the Presbyterians. Peace and the reconciliation of the king with the Parliament were the only sure means of averting them. Hollis was early favourable to peace, as he was wearied with embarrassment and anxiety, and weighed down by the shackles imposed upon him by his recent conduct, the still furious contest, and, above all, the necessity of defending himself against the king even whilst becoming reconciled with him; but he was as ardent and sincere in his efforts for reconciliation as he had been in his

resolution for war. In 1644 he was sent to Oxford, with eight other commissioners, to attempt a negotiation; and on the very evening of his arrival he went, with the consent of his colleagues, and in company with Whitelocke, to pay a visit to the Earl of Lindsey, a nobleman of the king's household, and their mutual friend. The king came to Lord Lindsey's suddenly, while they were there, and, advancing towards them with great affability, said: "I am sorry, gentlemen, that you could bring to me no better propositions for peace, nor more reasonable than these are." "Sir," replied Hollis, "they are such as the Parliament thought fit to agree upon, and I hope a good issue may be had out of them." "I know," continued the king, "you could bring no other than what they would send. But I confess I do not a little wonder at some of them; surely, you yourselves cannot think them to be reasonable or honourable for me to grant." "Truly, sir," said Hollis, "I could have wished that some of them had been otherwise than they are, but your majesty knows that those things are all carried by the major vote." "I know they are," answered the king, "and am confident that you who are here and your friends (I must not say your party) in the House endeavoured to have had them otherwise, for I know you are well-willers to peace." "I have had the honour," observed Whitelocke, "to attend your majesty often heretofore upon this errand, and am sorry it was not to better effect." "I wish, Mr. Whitelocke," replied the king, "that others had been of your judgment, and of Mr. Hollis's judgment, and then I believe we had had an happy end of our differences before now; for I do earnestly desire peace, and, in order to it, and out of the confidence I have of you two that are here with me, I ask your opinion and advice what answer will be best for me to give at this time to your propositions, which may probably further such a peace as all good men desire." "Your majesty will pardon us," said Hollis, "if we are not capable in our present condition to advise your majesty." "We now by accident," added Whitelocke, "have the honour to be in your majesty's presence, but our present employment disables us from advising your majesty, if we were otherwise worthy to do it in this particular." "For your abilities," answered the king, "I am able to judge, and I now look not on you in your employments from the Parliament, but as friends and

my private subjects, I require your advice." "Sir," said Hollis, "to speak in a private capacity, your majesty sees that we have been very free; and, touching your answer, I shall say further, that I think the best answer would be your own coming amongst us." "How can I come thither with safety?" asked the king. "I am confident," returned Hollis, "there would be no danger to your person to come away directly to your Parliament." "That may be a question," said the king; "but I suppose your principals who sent you hither will expect a present answer to your message." "The best present and most satisfactory answer," urged Whitelocke, "would be your majesty's presence with your Parliament." "Let us pass by that," answered the king, "and let me desire you two, Mr. Hollis and Mr. Whitelocke, to go into the next room, and a little to confer together, and to set down somewhat in writing which you apprehend may be fit for me to return in answer to your message, and that in your judgments may facilitate and promote this good work of peace." "We shall obey your majesty's commands," replied Hollis.*

They went together into an adjoining room, and having carefully disguised their handwriting, drew up a paper containing the advice which the king had requested. But their good-will was as powerless as it was dangerous. At Oxford, their advice produced no result. At London, denounced by Lord Savile, a courtier and traitor in both camps by turns, this advice became the text of a serious accusation which was vigorously urged against them, in the House of Commons, by the Independent party. Hollis was the special object of their abhorrence. They endeavoured to separate Whitelocke from his companion, and promised to free him from any evil consequences. Whitelocke had some dislike for Hollis, whose first answers in the House had been, in his opinion, too open and haughty. But, for a man like Whitelocke, prudent and sensible even in his pusillanimity, the hour of defection had not yet arrived. He continued faithful to Hollis, ably defended their common cause, and after a long examination, in spite of the efforts of the Independent party to leave the matter at least in suspense, the House decided that no proceedings should be taken upon the accusation.†

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 113 (London, 1732).
† Ibid., p. 161.

From this moment Whitelocke retired from the struggle, and Hollis engaged in it with redoubled ardour. He became the declared and personal adversary of Cromwell, Ireton, and all the leading Independents, attacking them in the House, denouncing them to the people; incessantly employed in predicting their crimes and unveiling their plots; provoking against them sometimes secret conferences, and sometimes public resolutions; and caring little if he envenomed their hatred against himself, provided that his own antipathy, though powerless, had free course.

Accordingly, when the Independents triumphed, when Cromwell became supreme in the Parliament as well as in the army, Hollis was one of the first proscribed. In August, 1647, excluded from the House of Commons, and accused of high treason, he took refuge in France, at Sainte-Mère-Eglide, in Normandy, near the coast; as if he were still determined to watch, from the other side of the ocean, what was going on in his own country, and unable to detach his soul from the cause he was no longer able to defend. For one moment, the battle-field opened to him again; the Presbyterians regained their ascendancy in the House of Commons. Hollis crossed over to England immediately, and resumed, with his former earnestness, his conflict with the Independents and Cromwell, and his exertions for peace with the king. "One day, Commissary-General Ireton speaking something concerning the secluded members, Mr. Hollis thinking it to be injurious to them, passing by him in the House, whispered him in the ear, telling him it was false, and he would justify it to be so if he would follow him, and thereupon immediately went out of the House, with the other following him. Some members who had observed their passionate carriage to each other, and seen them hastily leaving the House, acquainted the Parliament with their apprehensions; whereupon they sent their serjeant-at-arms to command their attendance, which he letting them understand, as they were taking boat to go to the other side of the water, they returned; and the House taking notice of what they were informed concerning them, enjoined them to forbear all words or actions of enmity towards each other, and to carry themselves for the future as fellow-members of the same body, which they promised to do."*

This pacification was as false as Hollis's victory in a duel with

* Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 94-95 (London, 1751).

Ireton would have been vain. These ardent attacks of the Presbyterian leaders were only a transient gleam, the last flickering light of an expiring party. The power had passed into the hands of the Independents; and Cromwell felt his confidence mount as high as his ambition. "What a sway Stapleton and Hollis had heretofore in the kingdom," he said; "I know nothing to the contrary but that I am as well able to govern the kingdom as either of them."* Four months after fortune had apparently smiled once more upon the Presbyterians, they were expelled *en masse* from the House of Commons; the king was brought to judgment, and Hollis resumed, at Sainte-Mère-Eglide, on the other side of the Channel, the melancholy and inactive life of an exile.

It was during his first sojourn in this retreat, that he wrote his Memoirs, to which he prefixed the following dedication:

"To the unparalleled couple, Mr. Oliver St. John, his Majesty's Solicitor-General, and Mr. Oliver Cromwell, the Parliament's Lieutenant-General, the two grand designers of the ruin of three kingdoms.

"GENTLEMEN,

"As you have been principal in ministering the matter of this discourse, and giving me the leisure of making it, by banishing me from my country and business, so is it reason I should particularly address it to you. You will find in it some representation of the grosser lines of your features, those outward and notorious enormities that make you remarkable, and your pictures easy to be known, which cannot be expected here so fully to the life as I could wish. He only can do that, whose eye and hand have been with you in your secret councils, who has seen you at your meetings, your Sabbaths, where you have laid by your assumed shapes (with which you covered the world) and resumed your own; imparting each to other, and both of you to your fellow-witches, the bottom of your designs, the policy of your actings, the turns of your contrivances, all your falsehoods, cozenings, villanies, and cruelties, with your full intentions to ruin the three kingdoms. All I will say to you is no more than what St. Peter said to Simon the Sorcerer, 'Repent therefore of this your wickedness, and pray God, if perhaps the thoughts of

* Major Huntington's Reasons for laying down his Commission; in Maseres Select Tracts, vol. ii., p. 405.

your hearts may be forgiven you.' And if you have not grace to pray for yourselves (as it may be you have not), I have the charity to do it for you, but not faith enough to trust you. So I remain, I thank God, not in your power, and as little at your service."*

Hollis doubtless intended to publish his work, and at least to curse the enemies whom he was no longer able to combat. But the trial of the king, the establishment of the republic, the empire of Cromwell, the rapid succession of prodigious events, removed this useless design far from his own thoughts. He did not even continue his Memoirs, and they were not published until 1699, nearly twenty years after his death.

The book is a historic dithyramb against the Independents, written as if the Presbyterians had never had any other adversaries, and had never themselves been conquerors and oppressors. Not only does Hollis confine his narrative to the conflicts of his party against the republicans, the fanatics, and the army, but it appears as if this was all that he had any recollection of, and that the conduct of the Presbyterians, at the commencement of the civil war, was altogether absent from his thoughts. If this great omission be borne in mind, Hollis's narrative is true, of a striking moral truth; and, notwithstanding the vehemence of his resentment, the impetuosity of his language, and the floods of invective which he pours forth, without, however, giving vent at any time to all the anger which he feels, he has not calumniated his enemies. He has supplied us with the most faithful picture that has been drawn of the insolent violence and imperturbable hypocrisy of a party which was both military, demagogic, and devout, animated and sustained by unbridled passions, blind faith, and shameless personal interests.

This party derived a portion of its strength, it is true, from a purer source; for the Independents, and the various factions which were connected with them, had caught glimpses of some truths regarding social organisation and the rights of man, far superior to the political theories of the Presbyterians. But the time was not ripe for the application, or even comprehension, of these truths; they were confused, disordered, and stifled beneath monstrous absurdities, and were as yet capable neither of forming a system, nor of founding a

* Memoirs of Denzil, Lord Hollis, pp. xiii.-xv. (London, 1699).

government. Thus, although they powerfully assisted in securing the momentary success of the Independent party, they exercised no great or lasting influence upon its conduct; and no one need be astonished that Hollis, in common with the noblest spirits of his time, could discern in this party nothing save the passions of an ignorant multitude, and the ambition or avidity of its chiefs.

So long as Cromwell reigned, Hollis resided in Normandy, in sad and dignified inaction, sometimes sharing in the secret hopes and proceedings of the Royalist party, but taking no part in the intrigues of the Cavaliers of the court. Too clear-sighted and proud to lend himself to the frivolous hopes or subaltern schemes which ill-fortune suggests to exiles, he was, nevertheless, one of those who, in their frank and persevering courage, never renounced the idea of serving their cause and combating its enemies. When, in 1659, after the death of Cromwell, England, restored to herself, was compelled to seek on all sides for a government, in the midst of the lassitude and impotent agitation of all the factions which the revolution had produced, Hollis re-appeared at the head of the Presbyterians, who foresaw, and prepared the way for, the restoration of Charles II. He could labour in this cause without abandoning his principles, or belying, in the slightest degree, his past life; as a high-born gentleman and open partisan of monarchy, far from having ever thought of dethroning the Stuarts, he had never ceased to protest against their expulsion. He was, however, one of those Presbyterians who, though desirous to recal Charles II., wished to make terms with him, and impose upon him some of those conditions which his father had so often refused. But the people cried, "The king! the king!" The Presbyterians themselves were weary, and powerless to renew an energetic struggle with the Cavaliers. Monk employed his taciturn ability to prevent any one from hindering the progress of events, and diverting the country from the course which it had resolved to take. Charles II. returned unconditionally. The Presbyterians submitted silently to a defeat as inevitable as its consequences were certain. Hollis was one of the committee who proceeded to Breda to present the king with the homage of the House of Commons. He was specially appointed to be spokesman. At the moment when he was advancing towards the king, Mr. Henry Howard, brother of the Earl of Arundel, roughly interrupted him, saying that it was great insolence in him to pretend to an honour

which belonged to another commissioner, his relative. Hollis haughtily maintained his right; the quarrel grew warm; at length Charles interfered, and requested Mr. Hollis to discharge his commission.* His discourse was an effusion of loyalty and joy, sometimes rising into eloquence, interspersed with very severe reflections upon the fallen authorities and their partisans, and breathing a deep, though repressed, feeling of the dignity of the Parliament.† When Hollis had returned to London with the king, some complaints were raised in the house against the language he had used; the upholders of the republic and of Cromwell, lately so powerful, were still susceptible, and persons had not yet lost the habit of fearing them. The House, however, supported Hollis, and authorised him to print his speech.‡

Six months had not elapsed from this period, and Hollis was sitting in the High Court appointed to judge twenty-nine of those men who had lately been judges of the king and masters of the country, but who now no longer inspired fear, and had not yet become objects of commiseration. As it generally happens, vengeance smote the most courageous and sincere, those who neither denied their actions, nor would humble themselves before their conquerors. Hollis condemned them without scruple or hesitation. They were the same men whom he had zealously opposed when at the height of their power, sitting in judgment upon them even then, and declaring them guilty of the public misfortunes and the ruin of the laws. It never occurred to him that the justice of the laws ought not to reach them, or that they could be bound up with the cause of the liberties of England. However, his language during the discussion of the bill of amnesty proved that, even in the first heat of triumph, he was not favourable to violent measures, or to a spirit of reaction.§

In 1661, at the opening of the Royalist Long Parliament, Hollis left that House of Commons in which he had fought so many hard battles, and was created a peer of the realm by the title of Lord Hollis, Baron of Isfield.

A new career was now about to open before him. He had lived in France, and was well acquainted with the French language. In the House of Commons, whenever any despatch

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 346.
† Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. iv., col. 36.
‡ Journals of the House of Commons, vol. x., p. 57.
§ Hansard's Parliamentary History, vol. iv., col. 78.

or document in that language had to be explained, it was he who generally undertook to act as interpreter.* He possessed the esteem and confidence of that national party which the new reign was careful to conciliate. In June, 1663,† Charles II. appointed him his ambassador at the court of Louis XIV.

The mission was a difficult one. At the beginning of that year, the Count de Comenge, French ambassador at London, had received orders to negotiate a treaty of alliance with the English court, for the purpose of terminating the dispute of the two monarchs about the possession of Acadie, regulating freedom of trade between their subjects, and abolishing respectively the rights of escheat. The secret and special object of Louis XIV. was to prevent Charles II. from forming an alliance with Spain. But no satisfactory agreement could be arrived at regarding the conditions of the proposed alliance. The cabinet at London thought that the fault lay with the Count de Comenge, and hoped to gain better success by transferring the negotiation to Paris.

Lord Hollis was not well adapted to bring such a matter to a successful issue. He entertained against Louis XIV. and his government all the prejudices of an Englishman, a member of the House of Commons, and a Protestant. He was naturally high-spirited, taciturn, and susceptible; and he thus added the asperities of his own character to the difficulties of the existing political juncture. He arrived at Paris in September, 1663, and had first of all a private audience "to greet the king." But when his first public audience was being arranged, he mooted a question of etiquette with so much obstinacy, that he delayed his audience for six months. M. de Lionne, then minister of foreign affairs, gives the following account of the matter to M. de Comenge, in a despatch dated December 30, 1663:—

"In order to perform at once the orders which the king has given me, and to fulfil your wishes as expressed in your last despatch, I shall be careful to inform you that there is no truth in the statement that we desired to impose on Mr. Hollis any conditions at all disgraceful to the crown of England, and that he has been personally ill-treated, as you inform me that the Spaniards and their partisans have spread

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 118.

† Lord Hollis's letters of credence are dated Whitehall, June 21, 1663.

the report throughout London. On the contrary, it is but true to say that the king has every reason to complain (though he has not yet done so) of the proceedings of Mr. Hollis, in that he has taken it into his head to call in question an order which has existed for centuries in this court, and which, as he very well knows, is practised daily by all the ambassadors of crowned heads. This order is that the carriages, which the princes of the blood are accustomed to send to honour their entrance, should precede those of the ambassadors in the procession; whereas Mr. Hollis claims that his carriage should have the precedence. In other words, he desires that his majesty, in order to please him, should in some measure degrade the princes of the blood, by depriving them of a right which they have possessed from time immemorial; and also that he should, at the same time, offend all other crowns, or at least declare that their ministers have all been in error, and have failed to maintain, as he has done, the dignity of their masters.

"As recent examples are less likely to be contested or disbelieved, he has been duly informed of the conduct of the Count de Fuensaldagna, the Marquis de la Fuente, the Count de Tott, the ambassador-extraordinary of Denmark, and MM. Nani, Grimani, and Sagredo, the Venetian ambassadors, who are usually most exact in all matters of ceremony, that they may thus maintain themselves in the same rank as the representatives of crowns. Mr. Hollis admits the truth of these examples, but he says that they cannot serve as a rule for the ambassador of England; to which objection we have the civility to make no answer, though there are many things which we could easily urge against him on this point. The king ordered me to pay him a visit yesterday on his behalf, to try and induce him to hear reason; but as his majesty himself, if he had undertaken the task, would never have succeeded, you will readily imagine that my mission failed entirely of success.

"I remarked that he rested his claim principally upon three particular cases, and I will tell you my answer to each of his arguments.

"The first was, that in the year 1564 (if I mistake not) an English ambassador came to swear to a treaty of alliance, and was accompanied at his entrance by a Marshal of France (*quod notandum*); but on the day upon which the treaty was sworn,

the king sent M. de la Roche-sur-Yon, a prince of the royal race, of the branch of Montpensier, to fetch him from his lodging; and Mr. Hollis deduces this consequence, that the prince thus gave precedence to the ambassador, because, he says, it is not likely that the king, being desirous to honour the said ambassador, would have sent to him any one who would afterwards have taken precedence of him.

"I urged two things in reply to this: first, that before the time of Henry III., the princes of the blood in France held no rank unless they were peers, and took precedence only according to the date of their peerage, so that other princes frequently preceded them; secondly, that his authority does not state that the Prince de la Roche-sur-Yon walked after the ambassador; and that, in order to show him that his argument of likelihood might very probably be false, only six weeks ago, the Prince de Condé and Monseigneur le Duc were sent by the king to conduct the Swiss ambassadors to his presence, but that they, nevertheless, preceded the ambassadors, although his majesty desired to do them all honour.

"The second instance that he alleged was that one of our kings, I do not remember whether it was Henry IV. or Louis XIII. that he mentioned, on another similar occasion of swearing to an alliance, being accompanied by all the princes and others, took the English ambassador by the hand, and made him walk by his side to the church, where he afterwards sat down on the king's right hand, while the princes and other nobles of the kingdom remained standing on his left hand.

"I replied to this, that when a reason proves too much, it is of no force; and that, if the English ambassador were seated and the princes of the blood standing, it is evident, if the thing be true, as it possibly may be, that the ceremony occurred in honour of the ambassador alone, and that the princes did not claim to take any part in it. As in fact, when the king is in any place, and all pay their court to him, there is no regular rank maintained; otherwise it would be requisite that the greatest and most considerable nobles should always be nearest the person of his majesty, which is not the case; that the ambassador, therefore, could not gain any advantage from the fact that the king, being perhaps desirous to converse with him, had taken him by the hand, and talked with him as they walked to the church.

"The third instance was that he read me a letter from a secretary, whom he did not name, who informs him that having, by order of the King of Great Britain, inquired of Lord Leicester how matters had been arranged here during the embassy which he and Lord Scudamore undertook in the reign of the late king, that lord had told him that at his entrance he rode in the king's carriage, which was followed by the queen's carriage, and immediately after by his own and Lord Scudamore's; and that a Swedish ambassador had contested his place with Lord Scudamore, but after some disputes the Swede had given way.

"I replied to this that there were either no princes of the blood at Paris, at that time, or that Lord Leicester had not a good memory, or that he was not well informed of what was going on behind him and out of his sight.

"There was undoubtedly no necessity for me to enter into this discussion, and it would have been sufficient for me to have informed him that he was opposing a privilege which the princes of the blood have possessed from time immemorial, and to which all the other ambassadors of crowned heads yielded daily without any difficulty.

"He then told me that he had hit upon the expedient of making no public entrance, and tried to persuade me that such a course would prejudice no one. I could not agree with him, but maintained, on the contrary, that, with the exception of himself, all others who had any interest in matters of this kind would be placed at a very notable disadvantage;—for the princes of the blood would be degraded from their privilege, all the other ambassadors would be obliged to confess that they had hitherto been in error, and the king would be injured most of all; for the other ambassadors would not fail immediately to put forward the same claims, and, if his desire was granted, it would be impossible to deny them their request of making no public entry, after the novel precedent which he would have established. That not only would the suppression of this ceremony abolish for ever a custom which is of some lustre in the courts of princes (as our example would be infallibly followed in all other courts), but it would finally appear that this expedient had ended only in doing the king one of the greatest injuries it is possible for him to receive, by depriving him of the means of assuming and continuing in possession of the precedence

which has been yielded to him by the King of Spain; and I begged Mr. Hollis to infer from hence whether his expedient were practicable, and whether the king could accede to it.

"The conclusion was, that Mr. Hollis told me that he greatly desired that I would show him a single instance in which an ambassador of England had given place to the princes of the blood, as he would be glad to have good cause for abandoning his claim. This morning I have sent to him MM. de Berlize and de Bonneuil, who will prove to him, from a book printed a long while ago,* that at the marriage of Louis XII. with Mary, the sister of the King of England, in 1514, all the princes of the blood were seated above the Dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, the English ambassadors. I do not know whether, after the promise he has given me, he will be satisfied with this example, although it is so conclusive, and occurred at a time when the princes of the blood royal in France did not hold so high a rank as they do now. Besides, the English ambassadors always pay the first visit to the princes of the blood."†

Business matters were as difficult to arrange as questions of etiquette. "I cannot believe," wrote M. de Lionne to the Count de Comenge, "that the Chancellor (Lord Clarendon) can consider Lord Hollis capable of conducting any important negotiation, and much less of arranging and concluding a treaty between two crowns. As soon as he has had his public audience it will quickly be perceived, by the course which he will adopt, what kind of orders he is commissioned to execute."‡

Hollis was not wanting in capacity; but no one had less disposition than he felt to make England a satellite of France, and he displayed with haughty stiffness his aversion to a policy which he could find no means of eluding. In April, 1664, he submitted to M. de Lionne a draft of a treaty very similar to that which had just begun to be discussed in England. "I can already perceive plainly, by the proceedings of Lord Hollis," wrote Louis XIV. himself to the Count de Comenge, "that the negotiation will make no quicker progress here than it did in London."§ This was, in fact, the case; it

* Cerémonial Français, by Godefroy, p. 745.

† This inedited despatch is printed from the original in the archives of the French Foreign Office.

‡ Despatch of 26th December, 1663; French Foreign Office.

§ Letter of 25th June, 1664; French Foreign Office.

lingered on, but no tangible results appeared; Hollis had a splendid house in Paris, arranged and kept in the English fashion, as he would, in no respect, conform to the manners and usages of France.* It was not long before the political relations of the two courts escaped from his hands. Charles II.'s sister, Henrietta Duchess of Orleans, became the real ambassadress of her brother to Louis XIV., and of Louis XIV. to her brother. On the 22nd of November, 1664, M. de Lionne wrote to the Count de Comenge:—"His majesty has not forgotten to give his best thanks to Madame for the kind reception and good treatment which you experience from the King of Great Britain and all his ministers; and his majesty gave her to understand that he would be very glad if she would convey his acknowledgments to the king her brother. He considered that it would be better for the thing to pass through this channel than by the medium of Lord Hollis, whom we see, by the way, about once a year."†

Hollis was held in no greater consideration at Whitehall than at the Louvre, and, while Louis XIV. would hardly listen to him, his own king seized the slightest pretext for laughing at him. On the 1st of December, 1664, M. de Comenge wrote from London to M. de Lionne:—"You will doubtless be as much surprised as I was to learn that a man of high rank, of mature age, and of exalted office, has written to the king of England that the queen, our mistress, has been brought to bed of a *black (more)* daughter. Be not astonished that I have not yet told you his name; I cannot make up my mind to do so, and I must break the matter to you gently, lest you should fall down in a fainting fit at the name of Lord Hollis. I am not the author of this bit of news. It has been related by the whole court of England, and by the king himself. If the story be true, which is hardly credible, it must of necessity be that the slight acquaintance which that nobleman has with the French language has made him commit this gross—I don't know what to call it; and that the first news he received was that the queen had been brought to bed with a *dead (morte)* daughter, and that, by a play upon the words, he manufactured this piece of intelligence; or that his secretary did not rightly understand

* Biographia Britannica, vol. iv., p. 2650.
† Archives of the French Foreign Office.

him, and has improperly expressed his intentions; for, without malice it is impossible to believe that a sensible man could have made so gross a mistake, though it is attributed to him even by the king, his master; and although he blames him greatly, I cannot but think it would have been better to conceal such a misapprehension on the part of his minister, than to publish it."*

Hollis soon perceived that he had lost all his influence, and his correspondence with the English court became as melancholy as his relations with the court of France were unpleasant. "I have received yours of June 27th, most welcome to me," he wrote in confidence, on the 19th of July, 1664, to his friend Sir William Morrice, then Secretary of State; "and I give you my humble thanks for it, be the contents what they will, which must be what the complexion of the time affords, and not always what you and I would desire. Cloudy enough it is for the poor Protestants, methinks, in all quarters; and nowhere worse than here. The poor people of Privas, that are forced from their lands and houses, are not suffered to carry away their moveable goods with them, but are robbed of it as they go; and the country of Gex, by Geneva, which the Duke of Savoy passed over to the King of France upon an exchange, but with that condition for the freedom of their religion, which they have ever since enjoyed from the time of Henry IV., being all Protestants: now all their temples are every one pulled down to the number of three-and-twenty, and the exercise of their religion suffered but in two places, where they are glad to make use of barns; and no reason given for it to such as have been deputed hither, both from them and from the canton of Berne, to endeavour to obtain some favour in it, but *Le Roy le veut*. . . . . All seems to make for the greatness of France. The weakness, and divisions, and ill counsels, and ill successes of the undertakings of all the other Christian princes and states, are the elevation of this young king, who may be raised so high that his brains may turn, and he may *suis viribus ruere*—commonly the fate of human greatness. Yet he hath certainly great advantages of his own, besides what his neighbours contribute to make him great; a clear understanding, a good judgment, an indefatigable industry; then a vast treasure and absolute power within his kingdom. . . . . If once he can get to be consider-

* Archives of the French Foreign Office.

able at sea, he will be formidable indeed; and yet need not our master fear him except he will; and he only of all the princes of Christendom is out of his reach, who can prejudice him, and receive no prejudice from him; except it be that the other plow with his heifer, get within his councils; so will he unriddle his riddles, and I doubt not doth now. . . . . Sir, it makes me mad, that I wish myself ten thousand miles off, to be the unhappy man that must be forced to deliver up the honour of my king and nation. Oh! that I had never come hither, or that I might soon be suffered to return from hence, where I shall be ashamed hereafter to show my face, which hitherto I could hold up with some comfort, though I received no favour or kindness from them." *

Hollis's wish was soon granted. The assistance which, during the year 1665, in virtue of the treaty of defensive alliance made in 1662, Louis XIV. gave to the Dutch in their war against England, induced the recal of the ambassador, who had long been almost as disagreeable to his own court, which he enlightened in spite of itself, as he was to the French king, whose policy he watched with the most hostile sagacity. Though recalled in December, 1665, a violent attack of gout detained Hollis in Paris until May, 1666; and, during this interval, the two courts renewed their endeavours to treat of peace. Louis XIV. has himself transmitted to us, in his Memoirs, the details of this futile attempt:

"The Queen of England," † he says, "continuing to manifest a strong desire for peace, I was wishful to make use of this means to defend myself against the pretentions of the King of England, who maintained that, as he had been the first to declare war, I ought to be the first to send an envoy into his kingdom to negotiate peace. For I represented to him that the house in which that princess resided ought to be considered by us both as neutral ground; that the respect due to her dignity would in a moment settle all those preliminary questions of etiquette, which frequently cause as much difficulty as the substantial provisions of treaties; that the anxiety which that queen manifested for peace might at any hour furnish him with expedients for clearing away all the difficulties that pre-

* This letter is printed at length in Collins's "Historical Collections of the Noble Families of Hollis, Cavendish, &c.," p. 159 (London, 1752).

† The Queen Dowager Henrietta Maria, widow of Charles I. See "Œuvres de Louis XIV.," vol. ii., p. 107 (Paris, 1806).

sented themselves; and that lastly, as she had made the proposition, it would not be reasonable to negotiate without her concurrence, and thus deprive her of the honour of success.

"But the principal reason which made me lean towards this place, was the advantage which I thereby hoped to gain of being able to give instructions to all the ministers I might employ, about every matter that occurred during the course of the negotiation.

"The King of England, who seemed at first to see through my design, for some time was disposed to insist upon the contrary; but at length, having become more tractable, he empowered his ambassador, Lord Hollis, to act for him; who proceeded on the —th of April to the residence of the Queen of England, where Lionne was present on my behalf, and the ambassador Van Beuninghen on behalf of the States of Holland. At first all parties were very courteous to each other, and expressed, in the strongest terms, their hope that a satisfactory agreement might be come to; but when they had entered upon the business, the English ambassador, finding that nothing was proposed to him but what had been previously suggested, intimated that he could not conclude any arrangement, and, a few days afterwards, received orders to withdraw from my court, where he had remained until then, although war had been declared. Meanwhile, the Queen of England found it necessary to take her departure for the waters, before Lord Hollis had received final instructions from his master; she begged me, that if the treaty were continued, the negotiation might still be carried on in her house, just as if she were still present. But whilst these treaties with our neighbours were being broken off, others were concluded with more distant nations."

Towards the end of May, 1666, Lord Hollis finally left Paris to return to England; and M. de Gomont, who was deputed by M. de Lionne to accompany him as far as Dieppe, gives an account of his journey and embarkation in the two following despatches:

"Dieppe, May 29, 1666.

"In obedience to the orders of the king, which you were pleased to convey to me, I have accompanied the English ambassador to this place, where he arrived yesterday evening, and where I shall remain with him until his embarkation. In order to give you an exact account, I have to inform you that

on Monday, the 24th instant, he left Paris, and, proceeding on his journey, dined at Pontoise, and slept at Magny the same night. On Tuesday, the 25th, at about five o'clock in the morning, his secretary-of-legation arrived, together with a person named Petit; who brought several letters to the ambassador, and, among others, I know that there was one from Madame. The secretary-of-legation remained in his suite, and Petit posted back to Paris. He is the man who was formerly secretary to the ambassador, Lockhart, and afterwards in the service of the Earl of St. Albans. From Magny, my ambassador went forward, dined at Ecouy, and slept at Rouen, where he remained on Wednesday. On his arrival at Rouen, M. de Montausier paid him a visit, which the ambassador returned on the following day; and, besides these civilities, very few people have seen him, except one Madame de Cambremont, of Lower Normandy, who has been with him nearly all the time. Some merchants have visited him, by means of whom he received his money; and also one M. de Saint-Simon, Grand Provost of Normandy. On Thursday, the 27th, he left Rouen and proceeded to Toste, where he dined and slept that night. M. de Montigny, the commandant, came to pay his respects to him; and, after I had informed the said M. de Montigny of the king's intentions, and as there was nothing to be done for the ambassador, except to pay him private civilities, he desired that the mayors and sheriffs of the town might pay him their respects in a body, as they had done when he passed through the town three years before. I represented to him that circumstances had changed since then. He then told me that what induced him, as well as the corporation of the town, to desire to pay him this compliment was, that as several sailors from this place are prisoners in England, he hoped that the ambassador would use his influence to obtain their liberation. As I did not think the matter was of any consequence, I allowed them to do as they wished.

"There are in the roadstead here a frigate of thirty guns, and a yacht belonging to the Duke of York, which have been sent for the use of the ambassador. There is also a French vessel in the port, which the ambassador wishes to hire to carry over his baggage. This vessel cannot leave the harbour until high tide, which will not be until Tuesday, the 1st of June. 'And as I perceive that my lord the ambassador is not

disposed to leave without his luggage, I do not think that he will embark until Wednesday, the 2nd of June; although he might start this very day if he pleased, as the time is favourable for the frigate and yacht. He has, moreover, told me several times, that he was anxious to present himself before his master, the King of England, as quickly as possible. His present conduct makes me doubtful of this, for his luggage is not a matter worthy of any consideration, if he is really desirous to obey his master's orders with all diligence.

"I have gathered from his conversation that he never was of opinion that the king his master would treat with the Bishop of Munster. He says that if the said bishop had not begun to arm, the king would perhaps not have sent any of his troops to the Dutch; and that up to that time there would not have been any rupture; and that by the accounts which he will give to the King of England and his Council of State, it will not be his fault if they interpret matters more favourably than they have hitherto done; and that he could easily conceive that each had manifested considerable warmth in his turn. He tells me all that he pleases; I listen attentively and think myself bound to report it to you, that you may attach to it such belief as you please. I find him extremely polite and civil, but I remark that he is not devoid of anxiety. I learn from a small barque, which arrived here this morning from Holland, that nearly all the Dutch fleet is collected together to the number of one hundred and thirty sail; and the master of this barque tells me that it is rumoured that Admiral Ruyter is to pass by the north, to join M. de Beaufort at La Rochelle."

The second despatch is as follows:—

"Dieppe, June 1, 1666.

"I have just witnessed the embarkation of the English ambassador, who will have the finest possible weather for his passage. He desired me to present his very humble thanks to the king for the honour which his majesty has done him, and to assure you, sir, of his good offices. He pressed me to accept a present of two hundred silver crowns, which he had lodged with a merchant to be employed as I might desire. I neither wished, nor thought it right, to receive it, as I thought neither the king nor yourself would wish me to do so. He has many times assured me that, by the course of conduct he would pursue, it should be clearly perceived that it was not

his fault that matters had not been brought to a good accommodation, although perhaps such might not be the opinion entertained of him; and that what might have given rise to this opinion was, because he had plainly expressed his views upon the novel conduct pursued towards the ambassadors, and upon the little attention which had been given to that which was done by the servants of the Princess de Carignan to his own servants, of which he had complained only by order of the king his master and the Council of State; and which had been considered an extraordinary proceeding, and was the reason why he had not accepted his majesty's present. I observe by his conduct that he is not at ease, but full of anxiety. It seems that his return to England is not agreeable to him; and, when on the point of embarking, he received information from a merchant that the Dutch fleet had sailed out, to the number of one hundred and five vessels. He expressed his astonishment at this, and told me that he had no Dutch passport, and that if any of their vessels should come up with his ship, his voyage might be retarded. I replied that I thought it my duty to inform him that the vessels of the States would assuredly manifest great respect for his majesty's passports. He answered that he had no doubt of it, but that he hoped, nevertheless, that he would have no occasion to make the experiment. On taking leave of him I wished him a speedy return into France to negotiate a peace. He told me he did not think he should return, but that it might very probably come to pass that, in a short time, the king his master would send some other ambassador."*

In 1667, the year after his return to his native land, Hollis left it once more to go and negotiate the peace of Breda. This was his last diplomatic act. The foreign policy of Charles II. gave just offence to his honesty and manly pride. He absented himself almost entirely from the court, was assiduous in the discharge of his duties in the House of Lords, and ever proved himself one of the firmest supporters of the national party. But he had fallen into a state of profound melancholy; in 1676, writing, in the unreserve of friendship, to M. Van Beuninghen, the ambassador of the States-General in England, he bitterly deplored the state of dependence and humiliation into which his country was falling, ascribed it chiefly to the bad government of James I., Charles I., and Charles II.; and

* Archives of the French Foreign Office.

concluded with these remarkable words: "I make no doubt to affirm that if the government of the Parliament had not been interposed in the middle, the government must have sunk ere now; for save what they did, we have not taken one true step, nor struck one true stroke, since Queen Elizabeth's time."*

By an unexpected incident, this haughty Englishman, so thoroughly imbued with the spirit of nationality, and so hostile to all foreign influence, was one day publicly accused, before a Court of Justice, of manifesting too great complaisance and fondness for foreigners. In 1669, he had taken as his third wife a Frenchwoman, Esther de Lou, widow of Jacques Richer, Lord of Cambernon, in Normandy. His marriage and residence at Sainte-Mère-Eglide had obtained for him many connexions in that province. In 1671, two young Norman gentlemen, who had unfortunately become implicated in a criminal prosecution at London, wrote from their prison to entreat the aid of Lady Hollis, with whom they claimed relationship. Hollis took up their defence with characteristic ardour, obtained numerous witnesses to their innocence, accompanied them to the Court of King's Bench, and was about to speak on their behalf, when Lord Chief Justice Keeling stopped him, saying that he must not interrupt the court. Lord Hollis replied that "it was neither to interrupt the court, nor to do them any wrong, to inform them of what had passed." "My Lord," answered Keeling, very angrily, "it is not the first time you have been observed to appear too much for strangers."† This was, perhaps, in allusion to the secret, though justifiable, connexion which Lord Hollis, as well as Lord William Russell, maintained with Louis XIV. by means of Barillon and Ruvigny, the French ambassadors at London.‡ However this may be, Hollis did not patiently endure this uncalled-for reproach; he repelled the charge, before the public, in a pamphlet in which he defended both his own cause and that of the two young Frenchmen, and before the House of Lords, in a petition in which he complained of the indignity which had been put upon him, and demanded satisfaction. The Lord Chief Justice was brought before the House, and obliged to

* Collins's Historical Collections, pp. 152-157.
† Biographia Britannica, vol. iv., p. 2650.
‡ Dalrymple's Memoirs, vol. ii., pp. 131, 134, 146.

acknowledge his error, and to ask pardon of the House and of Lord Hollis.* The old Baron of Isfield, on his seat in the Upper House, was as warm a friend and as untractable an enemy, as Denzil Hollis had been, forty years before, on the benches of the House of Commons.

He continued to live in noble repose, taking scarcely any part either in public business or parliamentary debates, resisting the bad policy of the times by silent reprobation, and that only when resistance was a duty. Charles II. was in the habit of attending, in the most familiar manner, at the deliberations of the House of Lords: "The king's going thither," says Burnet, "had a much worse effect; for he became a common solicitor, not only on public affairs, but even on private matters of justice. And he was apt to do this upon the solicitation of any of the ladies in favour, or of any that had credit with them. He knew well on whom he could prevail: so being once in a matter of justice desired to speak to the Earl of Essex and the Lord Hollis, he said they were stiff and sullen men; but when he was next desired to solicit two others, he undertook to do it, and said, 'they are men of no conscience, so I will take the government of their conscience into my own hands.' "†

Hollis well deserved the honour done to his old age by this avowal of a corrupt monarch; for he would yield neither to popular passion nor to royal solicitation. In 1679, during the great debate which was carried on in Parliament for the exclusion of the Duke of York from the succession to the crown, he joined the moderate party, who desired to impose conditions on the Duke of York but not to exclude him entirely. And in 1680, at that odious trial which terminated in the condemnation of Lord Stafford, he was one of those who did not hesitate to acquit that victim of the fanatical frenzy of the people and the cowardice of the Lords.

It is a great happiness for a man, in a shameless and wrong-headed age, to close his life by an act of courage and virtue. Lord Hollis died on the 17th of February, 1681, at nearly eighty-three years of age. Though he had been married three times, he left only one son, Sir Francis Hollis, and his race became extinct in the third generation. His property then passed to his grand-nephew, John Hollis, Duke

* Biographia Britannica, vol. iv., pp. 2649-2650.
† Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i., p. 473.

of Newcastle, who erected a monument to his memory in Dorchester church, where he was buried.

The inscription on this tomb is said to contain so exact and particular an account of Lord Hollis's character, that we are induced to quote it, as a pendant to M. Guizot's biography. It is as follows:—

To eternise the name and honour of Denzil, Lord Hollis, Baron of Isfield.

His birth was equal to his virtues, being the second son of John the first Earl of Clare, who, by sea and land, at home and abroad, did not more signalise himself in the service of his country than he was meritoriously distinguished and rewarded by Queen Elizabeth and King James. All that Denzil's wit or courage, probity or industry, presaged in his youth, he made good and exceeded when a man. For as his excellent endowments and abilities made him early known to his prince and country, so he could, by his eloquence and valour, intrepidly defend the liberty of the last, without refusing the obedience that was due to the former. When the rights of the nation were barbarously invaded by that army which the Parliament levied to secure them, he bore the violence and injustice of his enemies as it became a finished hero; nor could losses, exile, or his hatred to the factious, make him forget him the love that he owed to England. After the restoration of monarchy he was created Baron of Isfield by King Charles II., and had the honour of representing him in two extraordinary embassies—the one to Louis the French king, who no less admired the generosity, whereby he maintained so high a character, than he dreaded that virtue he was not able to corrupt by his magnificent presents, which were more princely refused than offered. No part of his reputation was diminished when he went afterwards plenipotentiary to the treaty at Breda. His learning was unaffected, useful, and general; but not to be exceeded by any in the knowledge of the ancient records of the kingdom, and the distinct powers of the several parts of the administration. So true a friend, that none could exceed or equal him. He was as great a patron to religious as to civil liberty, which made him universally beloved and lamented, when he peaceably ended a long and glorious life the seven-

teenth of February, in the year of Christ, one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine, and in the eighty-second year of his age. This monument is therefore dedicated to his memory, for the honour of the present age, as well as an example to posterity, by his nephew's son and heir, John, Duke of Newcastle.

MDCXCIX.

EDMUND LUDLOW.

[1620—1693.]

When Pascal is depicting the misery of human nature, he appears to triumph in his task, as if the sight of so many contrasts, obscurities, and eccentricities, made him feel a kind of sombre joy, and as if he consoled himself for the deep imperfection of humanity by the honour of being able to contemplate it with steady gaze, and boldly to strip off its vestments of disguise.

This arises from the fact that Pascal always considered man in an abstract and general light; in his unshackled and solitary meditations he was never under the necessity of applying to individuals the terrible judgment which he had pronounced upon the whole race. When we have to speak of one particular man, instead of mankind at large; when we are compelled to recognise and acknowledge, in the character of the same individual, in the narrow compass of a single life, all the contradictions and miseries of humanity, then it is that the task becomes difficult, and that the strongest mind, constrained to take a close survey of this moral chaos, feels ready to succumb under the difficulty, I do not say, of understanding what he sees, but of believing it.

Whoever is desirous thoroughly to know, and equitably to judge Edmund Ludlow, will be condemned to this painful feeling. Providence seemed to have prepared for him an easy and pleasant destiny. He was endowed with an upright heart, a resolute character, a robust body, an active and ingenious mind. He was born in 1620, among the best gentlemen of Wiltshire, of an ancient and wealthy family, devoted to those interests of landed property and agricultural life which

are the soundest of all social interests, and accustomed to receive the esteem of the people and the consideration of men in authority. His was a position at once comfortable and strong, adapted to inculcate wisdom, and conduct to happiness.

But men introduce disturbance into positions which Providence had consecrated to order. The arrogant and foolish despotism of James I. and Charles I. deeply irritated a large number of those country gentlemen who are the natural, but independent allies of power. Attacked in their rights, as well as in their dignity, they became alienated from the Crown and attached to the people, who were as greatly irritated as themselves, and under the influence of a violent fermentation. The ancient religious society—the Catholic Church—was dissolved; the new Anglican Church was not sufficient to occupy the vacant place, and around it, in spite of its efforts, sprang up a variety of sects, which it oppressed, but could not crush. In matters of faith, the minds of the people were unfettered; their consciences would be free. The civil power united with the ecclesiastical authority to refuse the liberty demanded. The Crown placed itself at the service of the despotism of the Church, and the Church lent its aid to the despotism of the Crown. In consequence, to secure its defence in religion, the spirit of liberty invaded the political arena; need of safety urged it onward to the conquest of power; what men desired in spiritual matters, they demanded in temporal matters also; and thus Sectaries became Republicans. The ambition of the people, as it thus rose higher and higher, chimed in with the anger of the offended gentlemen, who came forward to meet it. From the very outset of civil discord, the republican party had allies and leaders from among their ranks.

Ludlow had not attained his twentieth year when he became involved in this quarrel. His father, Sir Henry Ludlow, not only sat in the Long Parliament, among the members of the extremest opposition, but he was the intimate friend of Henry Martyn, a cynical and bold republican, the first who dared to say in the House of Commons, "That it were better one family should be destroyed than many." Sir Nevil Poole moved that Mr. Martyn might explain what one family he meant. "The king and his children," answered Martyn, boldly.* Ludlow was educated in these opinions; while a

* Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 71.

student in the Temple, he made preparations to engage in the civil war, and demanded of his young companions the reason of their hostility to the Parliament. No sooner had the war commenced than he plunged enthusiastically into it. His conduct was praised by his father, and imitated by his two brothers, Robert and Thomas Ludlow, and his two cousins, Gabriel and George Ludlow. The whole family, so to speak, became involved in the war. Before it had lasted two years, Edmund Ludlow had lost his brother Robert, who had died while a prisoner of the Cavaliers, and in consequence of the bad treatment he experienced from them; his father, who had died of anxiety for the fate of his children, and alarm at the state of public affairs; and his cousin Gabriel, who had expired in his arms on the field of battle, of wounds received near Newbury. From this time forth, two feelings held sway in his soul; indignation mingled with surprise at the obstacles raised up against the good cause; hateful distrust of the king, as principal author of these obstacles, and unalterable conviction that neither justice nor safety would be obtained by a treaty with him. These two feelings determined his conduct and ruled his destiny.

He carried on the war, however, like a gentleman, and not like a sectary. Brave, ardent, impregnably faithful, and indefatigably devoted to his cause, but at the same time exempt from all thirst for vengeance, and all disloyal or passionate cruelty, generous, and humane, he treated with consideration, on the field of battle, those same enemies whom he detested and oppressed in the arena of political debate. When he became a fanatical republican, he did not lay aside either the elevation or elegance of his feelings and manners. In spite of his rigid adherence to the opinions he had adopted, some aristocratic reminiscence occasionally appears in him. For instance, he desires to express his contempt for Colonel Brown, who deserted to the king's party. "His low and abject original and education," he says, "became so prevalent in him, as to transform him into an agent and spy for the king."* This is truly strange language for the friend of Harrison, Hacker, and many other valiant and fanatical sectaries, who had sprung from the most obscure ranks of life.

For three years, from 1643 to 1645, Ludlow's life was entirely spent in carrying on the war, but his passion was not

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 69.

satisfied, and his plans were not executed. The Presbyterians, while making war, desired peace. Ludlow, who had taken service in their army, in the company of guards commanded by their general, the Earl of Essex, soon left them to follow some more resolute leader, Waller first, and afterwards Fairfax. At the end of 1645, the House of Commons determined to fill up the places of those of its members who had left it to join the king, and form another Parliament at Oxford. During that election, which returned one hundred and forty-six new members to take their seats at Westminster, Ludlow was chosen by his county, and entered the House at the same time with Robert Blake, the greatest seaman of his age, and a stanch republican. "We went into the House together," says Ludlow, "which I chose to do, assuring myself, he having been faithful and active in the public service abroad, that we should be as unanimous in the carrying it on within doors."*

From that day, until the death of Charles I., Ludlow's work was more political than military; and, in politics, he was guided by one fixed idea: to prevent the king's restoration at any price. In his eyes this was the right of defence and the duty of justice; it was required for the safety of his party, and for his own safety; the blood shed in defence of oppressed liberty cried for vengeance. Moreover, this was the means of establishing the Republic, and ensuring the government of the people by the House of Commons, the only legitimate form of government.

Ludlow had not been many months a member of that House which he desired to render the sovereign authority in the country, when, one morning, as he was walking with Cromwell in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, Cromwell told him "That it was a miserable thing to serve a Parliament, to whom let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow amongst them rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off. Whereas, when one serves under a general, he may do as much service, and yet be free from all blame and envy. If thy father were alive," he added, "he would let some of them hear what they deserve."† And not long afterwards, in the midst of a violent tumult which the Presbyterians had raised in the House, Cromwell turned towards Ludlow, who was sitting by his side, and whispered to him, "These men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears."‡

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 66. † Ibid., p. 72. ‡ Ibid., p. 73.

Ludlow was surprised and disturbed, but not enlightened by Cromwell's rough confidences; his position combined with his passion to conceal from him their full meaning. He retained his hopes and pursued his plans without caring for Royalists or Presbyterians, Cromwell or Cromwell's party in the Parliament and the army.

About nine months afterwards, during the winter of 1648, whilst the king was a prisoner in the Isle of Wight, Cromwell, feeling that the crisis was at hand—and being moreover convinced that this crisis was uncertain, in spite of his efforts to foresee and guard all its issues—desired that a conference might be held between some of his party and the Republican leaders, Vane, Hutchinson, Sidney, Haslerig, and Ludlow. These latter unhesitatingly declared their views, and absolutely proscribed a monarchical government, in the name of the Bible, of reason, of history, and of their own recent experience. They strongly urged the generals, and especially Cromwell, to declare themselves, and act in concert with them. Cromwell evaded, sneered; till at last, being very hard pressed, he extricated himself from his embarrassment by a piece of buffoonery. Having gained the door of the room, he took up a cushion, flung it at Ludlow's head, and then ran down stairs; but Ludlow "overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired."*

Cromwell was not so easily defeated; he demanded another conference with the Republican leaders. Hearing of this, Ludlow told him, "That he knew how to cajole and give them good words, when he had occasion to make use of them." Cromwell broke out into a rage, and said, "They were a proud sort of people, and only considerable in their own conceits." "It is no new thing," answered Ludlow, "to hear truth calumniated, and though the commonwealth's-men are fallen under your displeasure, I will take the liberty to say that they have always been and ever will be considerable, where there is not a total defection from honesty, generosity, and all true virtue, which I hope is not yet our case."†

Cromwell's ill-temper was not of long continuance; he stood in absolute need of the Republicans, and found it necessary either to seduce or deceive them. With Ludlow, the latter method alone was practicable. "Mine is an unhappy condition," said Cromwell to him one day during the

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 93. † Ibid.

month of April, 1648; "I have made the greatest part of the nation my enemies by adhering to a just cause. But my greatest trouble is, that many who are engaged in the same cause with me, have entertained a jealousy and suspicion of me. This is a great discouragement to me. What method is best for me to take?" "I could not but acknowledge," says Ludlow, in relating the conversation, "that he had many enemies for the sake of the cause in which he stood engaged, and also that many who were friends to that cause had conceived suspicions of him; but I observed to him that he could never oblige the former, without betraying that cause wherein he was engaged; which if he should do upon the account of an empty title, riches, or any other advantages, how those contracts would be kept with him, was uncertain; but most certain it was, that his name would be abominated by all good men, and his memory be abhorred by posterity. On the other side, if he persisted in the prosecution of our just intentions, it was the most probable way to subdue his enemies, to rectify the mistakes of those that had conceived a jealousy of him, and to convince his friends of his integrity; that if he should fall in the attempt, yet his loss would be lamented by all good men, and his name be transmitted to future ages with honour."*

Cromwell appeared moved by this language, and disposed to adopt the course recommended. Three months afterwards, a common danger came to the aid of his skilful policy; the second civil war broke out, and twenty thousand Scotch entered England in support of the king. Cromwell was sent off to oppose them, and the republican leaders laid aside their distrust. "We writ a letter to him," says Ludlow, "to encourage him, from the consideration of the justice of the cause wherein he was engaged, and the wickedness of those with whom he was to encounter, to proceed with cheerfulness, assuring him, that notwithstanding our discouragements, we would readily give him all the assistance we could."†

Cromwell had no need of this assurance; he knew he could command danger and victory. Whilst he was engaged in the conquest of Scotland, the Republican party, of which Ludlow was ever one of the most zealous and active members, had summoned Fairfax's troops to London, conducted the king in captivity to Windsor, forcibly expelled the Presbyterian

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 95. † Ibid., p. 100.

members from the House of Commons, and, thus left master of the field, with no rival to its sway in the political arena, listened with delight to Hugh Peters, exclaiming in the midst of one of his sermons, "Now I have it by revelation, now I shall tell you, this army must root up monarchy, not only here but in France, and other kingdoms round about; this is to bring you out of Egypt! This army is that corner-stone cut out of the mountain, which must dash the powers of the earth to pieces. But it is objected, the way we walk in is without precedent. What think you of the Virgin Mary? Was there ever any precedent before, that a woman should conceive a child without the company of a man? This is an age to make examples and precedents in."*

In the midst of these outbursts of joy and pride, on the very day on which the last remnant of the Presbyterians retired from the House of Commons, Cromwell resumed his seat in that assembly. "God is my witness," said he, "that I was not acquainted with what has been done in this House of late; but, since it is done, I am glad of it, and will endeavour to maintain it."† Before two months had elapsed, the work was completed; the king had been judged, and the Republic proclaimed. Ludlow had sat in the High Court of the regicides; he still sat in the republican Council of State, and laboured, with as much confidence as disinterestedness, to introduce a little order and probity into the new form of government, which had at length been conquered for his country.

Cromwell invariably sat by Ludlow's side in the House of Commons. One day, he said to him, "I have observed an alteration in your looks and carriage towards me, and I apprehend that you entertain some suspicions of me. Now, being persuaded of the tendency of the designs of us both to the advancement of the public service, I am desirous that a meeting may be appointed, wherein we may with freedom discover the grounds of our mistakes and misapprehensions, and create a good understanding between us for the future." "You have discovered in me," answered Ludlow, "what I have never perceived in myself. If I trouble you not so frequently as formerly, it is either because I am conscious of that weight of business that lies upon you, or that I have nothing to importune you withal, upon my own or any other account; but,

* Walker's History of Independency, part 2, p. 50.
† Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 105.

since you are pleased to do me the honour to desire a free conversation with me, I am ready at any time."

During the afternoon of the same day, on leaving the Council of State, they went into a room which had formerly been used as the queen's guard-chamber. Cromwell then entered into an explanation of his past conduct, his secret negotiations with the king, and his severity towards some republican soldiers. "It has been a necessity incumbent upon me," he said, "to do several things that appear extraordinary in the judgment of some men, who, in opposition to me, take such courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as upon me and the public cause; but my intentions are directed entirely to the good of the people, and I am ready to sacrifice my life in their service. I desire nothing more than that the government of the nation may be settled in a free and equal commonwealth. There is no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon us; and I look upon the design of the Lord in this day to be the freeing of his people from every burden. I believe that He is now accomplishing what is prophesied in the 110th Psalm; and am often encouraged from the consideration of it to attend the effecting of those ends." He then spent about an hour in repeating and commenting upon the 110th Psalm, alternately receiving and refuting Ludlow's observations, and his persevering, but timid references to the past. At length, changing the subject, he said, "I intend to contribute the utmost of my endeavours to make a thorough reformation of the clergy and law; but the sons of Zeruiah are yet too strong for us, and we cannot mention the reformation of the law but they presently cry out that we design to destroy property; whereas the law, as it is now constituted, serves only to maintain the lawyers, and to encourage the rich to oppress the poor. Mr. Coke, now Justice of Ireland, by proceeding in a summary and expeditious way, determines more causes in a week than Westminster Hall in a year. Ireland is as a clean paper in this particular, and capable of being governed by such laws as should be found most agreeable to justice; which may be so impartially administered, as to be a good precedent even to England itself. When the English once perceive that property is preserved at an easy and cheap rate in Ireland, they will never permit themselves to be so cheated and abused as now they are."

From the administration of justice in Ireland, Cromwell

passed to its military government. "The whole weight of it," he said, "lies upon Major-General Ireton, and, if he should by death, or any other accident, be removed from that station, the conduct of that part would probably fall into the hands of such men as, either by principle or interest, are not proper for that trust, and of whom I have no certain assurance. Some person of reputation and known fidelity should be sent over to command the horse there, and to assist Ireton in the service of the public. Can you name any one who you think is sufficiently qualified for that station?" Ludlow proposed Colonel Algernon Sidney. "No," said Cromwell, "he is related to many who are in the king's interest; Colonel Norton or Hammond would do better; but Hammond, by his late deportment with relation to the king, has so disobliged the army, that I apprehend he would not be acceptable to them. Ireland is a fine country; try and think of some person capable of that employment."*

Ludlow now began to comprehend his meaning, and made up his mind to refuse the offer. He had just married a wife, and purchased an estate; his private affairs required his personal superintendence. But the Council of State interfered; the House of Commons commanded. Ludlow was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Horse in Ireland. He had an interview with Cromwell himself, explained to him his situation, and represented the immense injury which this appointment might cause him. "Men's private affairs," said Cromwell, "must give place to those of the public; I have seriously considered the matter, and I cannot find a person so fit for the employment as yourself."† Ludlow yielded, and left England; and in January, 1651, less than two months after the establishment of the Republic, Cromwell had decently removed, from the Parliament and from England, that Republican whom he considered the most troublesome of his opponents.

Two years more elapsed, and the Republic had ceased to exist. Ludlow had served it valiantly and honestly. With brilliant courage and uncommon capacity, he had carried on a difficult and melancholy war, which had been equally ruinous to his health and his fortune. He had narrowly escaped dying of pleurisy while besieging Castle Clare; and he had expended, out of his own resources, 4500*l.* sterling, besides his salary. His conduct was guided by a disinterestedness even more rare than pecuniary liberality—the disinterestedness of

* Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 122-123. † Ibid., p. 124.

self-love. Though possessed of the chief command in Ireland for more than six months after the death of Ireton,* he had yielded it up without a murmur to Fleetwood, who was sent out in distrust of him,† and had served under his orders with the same zeal as if he had been himself in command. More than this, when Cromwell, in 1653, expelled the Long Parliament, Ludlow, notwithstanding his indignation, remained at his post, partly out of fidelity to the Republican cause, partly out of consideration to some of his friends who had not yet separated from Cromwell, but chiefly in obedience to that irresistible bias which urges even the purest partisans from concession to concession, when they feel they are gravely compromised. But, in 1654, when the news arrived at Cork that the Barebones Parliament had been dissolved,‡ and that Cromwell had been proclaimed Protector,§ Ludlow's patience came to an end. He stoutly opposed the proclamation of the Protector in Ireland,‖ and resigned all participation in the civil administration of the country, as he was determined not to recognise the new power.

He attempted, however, to retain his military functions. He held his command from the Republican Parliament, and might employ his authority for its restoration. It cost him a great deal also to separate himself entirely from a government for which he had fought so long, and to believe irremediable an evil which he had so little foreseen. The Protector sent his son Henry into Ireland to observe persons and things, and inform him of the result.¶ Ludlow received him with many marks of attention, placed his house and horses at his disposal; and when talking with him in his garden, on the day that Henry Cromwell was to return to England, "I acquainted him," says Ludlow, "with the grounds of my dissatisfaction with the present state of affairs in England, which I assured him was in no sort personal, but would be the same were my own father alive, and in the place of his. He told me that his father looked upon me to be dissatisfied upon a distinct account from most men in the three nations; and thereupon affirmed that he knew it to be his resolution to carry himself with all tenderness towards me. I told him that I ought to have so much charity for his father, to believe that he apprehended his late undertaking to have been abso-

* Ireton died on November 27th, 1651.
† On the 9th of July, 1652.
‡ On the 12th of December, 1653.
§ On the 16th of December, 1653.
‖ In January, 1654.
¶ He arrived in Ireland on the 4th of March, 1654.

lutely necessary, being well assured that he was not so weak a man to decline his former station, wherein his power was as great, and his wealth as much as any rational man could wish, to procure to himself nothing but envy and trouble. I supposed he would have agreed with me in these sentiments; but he, instead of that, acknowledged the ambition of his father in these words: 'You, that are here, may think he had power, but they made a very kickshaw of him at London.' I replied that, if it were so, they did ill, for he had deserved much from them. Then I proceeded to acquaint him with my resolution not to act in any civil employment, and my expectation not to be permitted to continue in my military command; to which he answered, that he was confident I should receive no interruption therein. I told him I could not foresee what his father would do; but inclined to think that no other man in his case would permit it. To this I added, that the reason of my drawing a sword in this war, was to remove those obstructions that the civil magistrate met with in the discharge of his duty; which being now accomplished, I could not but think that all things ought for the future to run in their proper and genuine channel; for as the extraordinary remedy is not to be used till the ordinary fail to work its proper effect, so ought it to be continued no longer than the necessity of using it subsists; whereas, this that they called a government, had no other means to preserve itself but such as were violent, which, not being natural, could not be lasting. 'Would you, then,' said he, 'have the sword laid down? I cannot but think you believe it to be as much your interest to have it kept up as any man.' I confessed I had been of that opinion whilst I was persuaded there was a necessity of it, which seeming to me to be now over, I accounted it to be much more my interest to see it well laid down, there being a vast difference between using the sword to restore the people to their rights and privileges, and the keeping it up for the robbing and despoiling them of the same. But company coming in, we could not be permitted to continue our discourse."*

Henry Cromwell left Ireland; and, on his arrival at Chester, being questioned as to the state in which he had left affairs in Ireland, "Very well," he answered; "only some who are in love with their power must be removed."†

Next year Ludlow arrived in London, stripped of all em-

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 187. † Thurloe's State Papers, vol. ii., p. 150.

ployment, civil as well as military, and almost in the condition of a prisoner. On disembarking at Beaumaris he had been arrested, and the governor of the town had required him to sign an engagement, by which he promised never to act against the existing government. Ludlow refused at first; but in order to obtain permission to continue his journey, he signed it at length, with this reservation, which he wrote with his own hand: "I look upon this engagement, now tendered to me for my subscription by the governor of Beaumaris, by order from, &c., to be no longer of any force than till I have rendered myself a prisoner at Whitehall; and in that sense only I subscribe it."* He was then allowed to proceed, and arrived in London on the 10th of December, 1655.

On the Wednesday following, at about eight o'clock in the evening, the Protector sent for him. Ludlow went to Whitehall, where he found him in his bed-chamber, with five of his general officers, Lambert, Sydenham, Walter Strickland, Montague, and Fleetwood.

"The first salute I received from him," says Ludlow, "was to tell me, that I had not dealt fairly with him, in making him to believe I had signed an engagement not to act against him, and yet reserving an explanation whereby I made void that engagement; which if it had not been made known to him, he might have relied upon my promise, and so have been engaged in blood before he was aware. I told him, I knew not why he should look upon me to be so considerable, neither could I apprehend how it had been possible for me to deal more fairly and openly with him than I had done; for I had told his governor at Beaumaris, that if my life as well as my liberty had been at stake, I could not sign the engagement simply, and therefore had resolved to continue there, had not the governor himself expressed a desire to accept of my subscription with that explanation. And because I accounted it to be in effect a repeal of the engagement, I had told him so, and desired him to do nothing out of respect to me that consisted not with his duty; notwithstanding which, the governor told me, he was free to accept my subscription, so that I knew not but he might have received instructions so to do. 'No,' said Cromwell, 'he had none from me.' 'That was more,' said I, 'than I knew; and if you had not notice as well of the one as the other, it was not my fault, for I had acquainted you with neither; and those who informed you of the one, I presumed had made you acquainted with the other also.'

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 209.

" He next asked me wherefore I would not engage not to act against the present government, telling me, that if Nero were in power, it would be my duty to submit. To which I replied, that I was ready to submit, and could truly say, that I knew not of any design against him. 'But,' said I, 'if Providence open a way and give an opportunity of appearing in behalf of the people, I cannot consent to tie my own hands beforehand, and oblige myself not to lay hold on it.' 'However,' said he, 'it is not reasonable to suffer one that I distrust to come within my house, till he assure me he will do me no mischief.' I told him, I was not accustomed to go to any house unless I expected to be welcome; neither had I come hither but upon a message from him, and that I desired nothing but a little liberty to breathe in the air, to which I conceived I had an equal right with other men. I told him also, I had gone as far as I could in that engagement which I had given to Lieutenant-General Fleetwood,* and if that were not thought sufficient, I was resolved with God's assistance to suffer any extremities that might be imposed upon me. 'Yes,' said he, 'we know your resolution well enough, and we have cause to be as stout as you; but, I pray, who spoke of your suffering?' 'Sir,' said I, 'if I am not deceived, you mentioned the securing my person.' 'Yea,' said he, 'and great reason there is why we should do so; for I am ashamed to see that engagement which you have given to the Lieutenant-General, which would be more fit for a general who should be taken prisoner, and that hath yet an army of thirty thousand men in the field, than for one in your condition.' I answered, that it was as much as I could consent to give, and what Lieutenant-General Fleetwood thought fit to expect. Then beginning to carry himself more calmly, he said, that he had been always ready to do me what good offices he could, and that he wished me as well as he did any one of his Council, desiring me to make choice of some place to be in, where I might have good air. I assured him, that my dissatisfactions were not grounded upon any animosity against his person; and that if my own father were alive, and in his place, they would, I doubted not, be altogether as great. He acknowledged that I had always carried myself fairly and openly to him

* Before leaving Ireland, and out of regard for Fleetwood, who treated him with great consideration, Ludlow had promised to do nothing for six months against the established government, unless he had previously surrendered himself into the hands of the Lieutenant-General, or of Cromwell himself, and had begged them to free him from that engagement.

and protested that he had never given me just cause to act otherwise."*

Here the conversation ceased. Ludlow was asked to pass into the next room, where Fleetwood soon joined him, and renewed his entreaties that he would sign the desired engagement, were it only for a week.

"Not for an hour," replied Ludlow; and returned home.

Cromwell left him for some time undisturbed; but the following year, he resolved to make a last attempt to gain the crown. A Parliament was indispensable, but it was necessary that at all events it should be submissive and docile. It was, therefore, above all things, desirable to exclude those republicans who were neither to be intimidated, deceived, nor corrupted—Vane, Bradshaw, Rich, and Ludlow. Towards the beginning of the summer of 1656, Cromwell cited them to appear before himself and his council. Ludlow presented himself accordingly. Cromwell "then said that he was not ignorant of the many plots that were on foot to disturb the present power, and that he thought it his duty to secure such as he suspected. . . . . 'I would have you know,' said he, 'that what I do proceeds not from a motive of fear, but from a timely prudence to foresee and prevent danger; that if I had done as I should, I ought to have secured you immediately upon your coming into England, or at least when you desired to be freed from the engagement you had given after your arrival; I therefore now require you to give assurance not to act against the government.' I desired to be excused in that particular, reminding him of the reasons I had formerly given him for my refusal, adding that I was in his power, and that he might use me as he thought fit. 'Pray, then,' said he, 'what is it that you would have? May not every man be as good as he will? What can you desire more than you have?' 'It were easy,' said I, 'to tell what we would have.' 'What is that, I pray?' said he. 'That which we sought for,' said I; 'that the nation might be governed by its own consent.' 'I am,' said he, 'as much for a government by consent as any man; but where shall we find that consent?—amongst the prelatical, presbyterian, independent, anabaptist, or levelling parties?' I answered, 'Amongst those of all sorts who had acted with fidelity and affection for the public.' Then he fell into the commendation of his own government, boasting of the protection and quiet which the people enjoyed under it, saying

* Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 210-211.

that he was resolved to keep the nation from being imbrued in blood. I said that I was of opinion too much blood had been already shed, unless there were a better account of it. 'You do well,' said he, 'to charge us with the guilt of blood; but we think there is a good return for what hath been shed; and we understand what clandestine correspondences are carrying on at this time between the Spaniard and those of your party, who make use of your name, and affirm that you will own them and assist them.' 'I know not,' said I, 'what you mean by my party, and can truly say, that if any men have entered into an engagement with Spain, they have had no advice from me so to do, and that if they will use my name I cannot help it.' Then, in a softer way, he told me that he desired not to put any more hardships on me than on himself; that he had always been ready to do me all the good offices that lay in his power, and that he aimed at nothing by this proceeding but the public quiet and security. 'Truly, sir,' said I, 'I know not why you should be an enemy to me, who have been faithful to you in all your difficulties.' 'I understand not,' said he, 'what you mean by my difficulties. I am sure they were not so properly mine as those of the public; for, in respect of my outward condition, I have not much improved it, as these gentlemen,' pointing to his council, 'well know.' To which they seemed to assent, by rising from their chairs; and therefore I thought not fit to insist further on that point, contenting myself to say, that it was from that duty which I owed to the public, whereof he expressed such a peculiar regard, that I durst not give the security he desired, because I conceived it to be against the liberty of the people, and contrary to the known law of England. For proof of this I produced an act of parliament for restraining the council-table from imprisoning any of the free-born people of England; and in case they should do so, requiring the justices of the upper bench, upon the application of the aggrieved party, to grant his *habeas corpus*, and to give him considerable damages. To this act I supposed he gave his free vote, assuring him that, for my own part, I durst not do anything that should tend to the violation of it. 'But,' said he, 'did not the army and Council of State commit persons to prison?' I answered, that the Council of State did so, but it was by virtue of an authority granted to them by the Parliament; and if the army had sometimes acted in that manner, it had been in time of war, and then only to bring the persons secured to a legal trial;

whereas it is now pretended that we live in a time of peace, and are to be governed by the known laws of the land. 'A justice of peace,' said he, 'may commit, and shall not I?' 'He is,' said I, 'a legal officer, and authorised by the law to do so, which you could not be, though you were king; because, if you do wrong therein, no remedy can be had against you.'"*

The discussion on both sides was evidently useless. Ludlow was a second time directed to withdraw into an adjoining room. The council grew animated, the members spoke loudly, and Ludlow listened attentively. Presently he heard Major-General Lambert advise that he might be "peremptorily required to give the security demanded. But Cromwell said that the air of Ireland was good, that I had a house there, and therefore he thought it best to send me thither." Immediately after, Mr. Scobel, one of the clerks of the council, came and told him that he might retire.†

Indirect attempts were frequently renewed to induce Ludlow to give the required security. Its amount was mentioned to him, 5000*l.* sterling, payable in three days. The order for his arrest, issued by the council, was also shown to him. He obstinately refused to comply. He was not arrested; he was not even sent to Ireland. It was Cromwell's policy never to urge either men or circumstances to extremes. Ludlow, on his side, had no wish either ridiculously to brave a victorious power, or to overthrow, at all risks, a man who, like himself, had combated and condemned the king. Having saved his honour, he lived quietly in the country for two years.

In August, 1658, Cromwell was confined to his bed by severe gout and fever, and was grieving intensely for the death of his dearest daughter, Elizabeth Claypole. He was told that Ludlow had just arrived in London. He immediately sent for Fleetwood, and ordered him to ascertain why Ludlow had come to town so suddenly, at such a conjuncture. Ludlow explained his journey for family reasons, and protested that he had no wish or intention to excite any commotion in the army, or elsewhere.‡ Two days afterwards, on the 3rd of September, Cromwell was dead; and his son, Richard, had succeeded him, without the least opposition. Four months afterwards, a Parliament was sitting at Westminster; Ludlow took his seat therein, and refused to swear obedience to the new Protector.

* Ludlow's Memoirs, pp. 217-218. † Ibid., p. 218. ‡ Ibid, p. 232.

This was not in consequence of any preconceived plan for overthrowing Richard Cromwell and the Protectorate. Perhaps even, he was desirous to conciliate their existence with his theories of republican organisation. But on recovering a little power, he fell once more under the sway of all his passions and prejudices. Blinded by the least chance of success, he resumed his endeavours to secure the triumph of his old cause with the most untractable obstinacy, rejecting all the institutions and combinations which were likely to destroy the absolute empire of the House of Commons in the government, and the absolute empire of the party which had conquered and condemned the king in the House of Commons. Herein alone, in his opinion, consisted legitimate power; beyond, all was suspicious and unendurable; he opposed every obnoxious proposition with that exclusive, distrustful, and fractious spirit, which, even though it have no destructive design, is sure to cripple, to enervate, and ere long to dissolve any government. While the Act which recognised Richard Cromwell as Protector was under discussion, some one proposed to insert the words, "that he shall govern according to law." "The term is ambiguous," said Ludlow, "to rule according to law. I would have you first determine what you mean by law. The great quarrel between the king and us was the militia. Either he or we were guilty. I look on myself as guiltless of that blood. My conscience went along with the Parliament after the king was brought to justice. . . . I honour his Highness as much as any man that speaks here. I would have things settled for his honour and safety; but if we take the people's liberties from them, they will scratch them back again."* In Ludlow's eyes, there never was any other danger but the danger of the republic, and no other question than the question of life or death which had been fought out between Charles I. and the Long Parliament.

Richard Cromwell fell. The Long Parliament re-appeared, and fell once more. The army, after having raised up and overthrown the Protector and the Long Parliament, attempted to stand alone, and fell. In eighteen months, all powers, parties, and men, had been put to the test, and had all been convicted of incompetence. During this period, Ludlow led a wretched life, passing and repassing from the Parliament to the army, from the army to the Parliament, from Haslerig to Fleetwood, from Lambert to Monk, from England to Ireland:

* Burton's Parliamentary Diary, vol. iii., p. 145.

a little less credulous and senseless than the companions of his fate, he endeavoured, but in vain, to draw together the mutilated limbs of the republican party, and in these futile attempts he not merely lost all credit with every faction, but perilled his ancient reputation for firmness and fidelity.

Meanwhile the restoration of Charles II. took place without resistance, and in presence of his adversaries, who beheld it unmoved. On the 29th of May, 1660, from the house in which he was concealed, Ludlow saw the immense cavalcade of troops and people pass by, which had accompanied Charles on his entrance into London: and shortly afterwards, he heard a proclamation published under his windows, ordering all the judges of Charles I. to surrender themselves prisoners within fifteen days, on pain of being excluded from the amnesty which the Parliament had just voted.

Ludlow was one of those men who bear adversity better than prosperity; and who are more exalted by proscription than by power. No sooner had the eighteen months, which he had spent in unproductive and paltry agitation, gone by, than he at once regained, under the rule of his victorious enemies, tranquil firmness of soul and conduct. He did not wantonly expose himself, like a hair-brained fanatic, to their hatred and their power; but he did not belie any recollection of his life, or neglect any duty of his position. He concealed himself at first; but when the elections for the first Parliament of Charles II. began, he resolved to act openly to secure the nomination, for his own county, of one of his friends, Mr. Bainton. This gentleman, however, wrote to him "that he had resolved not to put his friends to the trouble of appearing for him, judging it the best way rather to swim with the stream than to be borne down by it."* The inhabitants of the borough of Hinden offered to elect Ludlow himself. "Though I durst not desire any to confer so great a trust on me, yet I confess it was no small contentment to me, that they would manifest their respects for my person, and their remembrances of my services, whatsoever they had been, in such a conjuncture, when the Cavalier party, with what design may be easily conjectured, had printed the names of the late king's judges, of which number I had the honour to be one."†

Ludlow was, in fact, elected. He returned to London, and took his seat in the House of Commons without noise, with-

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 332. † Ibid.

out ostentation, but refusing to give his sanction to acts which implied the voluntary recal of the restored king, and answering to those persons who advised him not to say a word in justification of the High Court against the late king, "That unless I was constrained, I saw no reason to mention that matter; but, in that case, though it should cost me my life, I could not prevaricate."*

Silence even would not suffice. The storm arose; the regicides were summoned to deliver themselves up as prisoners. Ludlow surrendered himself, but remained free on giving security. The peril increased daily; new exceptions were made to the amnesty; several even of those regicides who had surrendered themselves were assailed. Ludlow sought again to conceal himself. Among the Presbyterians, even those of them who were Cavaliers, several esteemed him, and had kept up a courteous bearing to him. "Let him take care," said Sir William Morrice, Secretary of State to Charles II., to one of Ludlow's friends, "if he is apprehended, he is a dead man." A short time after, Lord Ossory, eldest son of the Marquis of Ormonde, advised him to quit the kingdom. Ludlow, while incapable of feebleness, had no wish to become a martyr. In the beginning of September, 1660, he departed, and remained two days concealed at the bottom of a small vessel in the port of Lewes, on the coast of Sussex. "The master, among other things, inquired if Lieutenant-General Ludlow were not imprisoned with the rest of the king's judges; to which I answered, that I had not heard of any such thing."† The next evening he was at Dieppe; and, towards the end of the month of October, after having passed through Rouen, Paris, and Lyons, he arrived at Geneva, the first place where he thought himself in safety.

Geneva even appeared to him too near to monarchical and Catholic France, which was governed by a despotic sovereign, intimately allied to the English king. He left it in the summer of 1662, and fixed his residence first at Lausanne, then at Vevey, under the protection of the canton of Berne, which displayed to him, and not to him only, but to nine other regicides who sought a similar refuge, the most constant hospitality.

It is a remarkable fact, and one that is not wanting in moral grandeur, that this official and avowed protection was steadily maintained for more than twenty years, by a small

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 343. † Ibid., p. 360.

state, on behalf of men condemned by a king and proscribed by his son and successor. Not only did the senators of Berne allow Ludlow and his companions to reside in their territory, but they gave them a formal reception, invited them to dine at their houses, made presents to them, gave them guards, —in fine, treated them, as far as their power allowed, with the same regard, the same public and continued kindness, which Louis XIV. was to show in after time to the second son (in his turn a royal fugitive) of that king whom Ludlow had condemned.

Europe was then in its unreformed state. The different states, monarchical or republican, powerful or weak, governed and conducted themselves, each according to its own maxims, with an almost complete independence of one another, little caring for their neighbours when not attacked by them. They did not feel themselves all attacked by the same evils, and threatened by the same dangers; and the lords of Berne protected, without any fear of embroiling themselves with the Emperor of Austria or the King of France, those English regicides who, in their turn, did not for a moment dream of conspiring, in their retreat, against any one of the governments, monarchical or otherwise, by which they were surrounded.

Such a protection was very necessary for the English refugees; and even this was not always sufficient for their safety. Assassination was not, in the seventeenth century, the instrument only of anarchy and passion; royal hatred still resorted to it sometimes, though cautiously. Charles II. and his sister, Henrietta, Duchess of Orleans, even more than he, pursued the outlawed regicides with the utmost animosity, as far as the borders of the Lake of Geneva. Perhaps these, in spite of their distance from home and their impotence, were not ignorant of the plots which were continually being carried on or meditated in England by their fallen party. Perhaps fear had as much to do as hatred with the obstinate attempts of the Stuarts to rid themselves of their ancient enemies. On looking more closely, we can detect, in these attempts, a busy use of police agency and espionage, as well as an intention to assassinate. Whether this was the case or not, Ludlow and his companions lived, from 1662 to 1668, whether at Geneva, at Lausanne, or at Vevey, in a state of continual anxiety; obliged to keep a strict watch on their food; to fortify themselves in their houses; to be attended by an escort in going to church; continually being warned that new as-

sassins threatened them, that they had arrived on the other side of the Lake, were in the same town, and had concealed themselves at the bottom of their boat. Much false alarm was, doubtless, given them, which occasioned groundless fears. However, those who were credulous, were soon undeceived by fact. On the 11th of August, 1664, Mr. Lisle was assassinated at Lausanne. We shall see, by the following letter, how the fact was communicated by a French resident in Switzerland in his correspondence. The writer cannot be suspected of partiality, and his account agrees substantially with that given by Ludlow.

"Soleure, August 26th, 1664.

"On Thursday last, Cromwell's chancellor, who was living under the protection of the lords of Berne in Lausanne, where he has been for three years, was killed by a musket-shot fired by an unknown Cavalier, who, with a comrade, had been for eight days in the town. They payed their score after every meal, and every morning, at the time of service, one of these Cavaliers posted himself at the churchyard, with his musket concealed under his jacket, waiting till the chancellor should come to attend service. The other, meanwhile, kept horses at the gate of the town, near a fountain, under the pretence of watering them, in order to make their escape, which they did when they had accomplished their purpose. They have left a letter with a large seal for the mayor of the town; it is thought to be a safeguard or some letter of the King of England."*

The success of crime multiplied its attempts: they were especially directed against Ludlow, the most famous and resolute of the refugees. Warnings were sent to him from all parts. One of these documents runs thus: "You are hated and feared more than all the rest of your companions. Your head is set at a great price; 'tis against you they take all this pains to find assassins, and 'twas on your account they contrived the late attempt; so that upon the whole matter I cannot but advise that you would resolve to retire to some place where you may be unknown; there being, in my opinion, no other way left to secure you from the rage of your enemies."† However, he refused to move. The magistrates of Vevey watched over him with the greatest care; the people

* Archives du département des affaires étrangères.
† Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 394.

were fond of him; and he was directly authorised, in case of danger, to ring the alarum-bell. He remained at Vevey, guarding himself carefully in his house, but in no other respect changing his habits.

Meanwhile, war broke out: first between England and Holland, and, a short time after, between France and England. A great man and a great king—John de Witt in the Hague, and Louis XIV. in Paris—formed the design of reviving in England the republican party, always agitated and unsettled. The disclosures relating to this subject are authentic and personal. "On the one hand," says Louis XIV. himself, in his Mémoires,* "I made use of the remnant of Cromwell's faction, to raise, under their name, some new broil in London; and, on the other hand, I began communications with the Irish Catholics, who, being always very dissatisfied with their condition, seemed also to be always ready to make an effort for its improvement.

"With these different intentions I listened to the proposals which were made to me by an English gentleman of the name of Sidney, who promised that he would soon cause a tumult to break out if I furnished him with a hundred thousand crowns; but I thought this sum rather too large for it thus to be risked upon the promise of a fugitive, unless I saw some probability in the things which he led me to expect. I therefore offered to give him only twenty thousand crowns, with the promise of sending afterwards to the insurgents all the assistance which was necessary for them, as soon as they appeared in a condition to avail themselves of it with success."

About the same time, the 11th and 14th of March, 1666, the Comte d'Estrades, French ambassador in Holland, wrote thus to Louis XIV.:

"M. de Witt has requested me to supply a passport to Messrs. Sidney and Ludlow, enabling them to go into France. These are two individuals of great merit. They are at Frankfort, and have expressed a desire of waiting upon your Majesty on important business. M. de Witt has not told me anything further about them."†

And to M. de Lionne he writes: "Mr. Sidney, a person of quality and of great desert, who was employed on important embassies by the late Protector, having informed me that, at this crisis, now that the king has declared war against

* In the year 1666. Œuvres de Louis XIV., vol. ii., p. 203.
† Archives du département des affaires étrangères.

England, he desires to place himself under the protection of his Majesty, and to go himself to France to offer his services, if occasion should present itself for their exercise. I have deemed it right to give him my passport in order that no opportunity which may arise for his serving his Majesty in this conjuncture may be delayed, leaving it, sir, for you to consider what may be best, after having had an interview with Mr. Sidney."

The passport sent to Ludlow was couched in these terms:

"We require all governors. commanders, captains, lieutenants, mayors, sheriffs, judges, and other officers to whom it may belong, as well by sea as by land, to permit Mr. Edmund Ludlow, with four servants, to pass freely and safely through the places of their respective powers and jurisdictions, without any trouble or impediment, but rather with all manner of favour, aid, and assistance, and thus fulfil our special pleasure.

"Given at the Hague, the 2nd of March, 1666.

"D'Estrades."*

At the same time, Sidney, Say, Colonel Bisco, and several others besides, proscribed regicides, or Republicans in voluntary exile, wrote to Ludlow, some from Frankfort, others from Amsterdam, entreating him to come to Holland and join them in their patriotic enterprise, and assuring him that success was certain, since they were supported by such powerful sovereigns.

Ludlow at first refused. Passion admonished him as well as wisdom. He distrusted Holland since it had delivered up to Charles II. two of the judges of Charles I.; he detested Louis XIV., and could not believe that any trustworthy support would be given by him in aid of Republicans. He confided to his friends these misgivings, but they were unmoved. He yet hesitated, and events soon showed that his refusal had not been unreasonable. The negotiations entered into first between France and England, then between England and Holland, and, in 1667, the peace of Breda, put an end to any hopes which the English Republicans might entertain of assistance from foreign rulers.

Louis XIV., even during the war, had always retained power over Charles II., whose most precious secrets were known to him, and he never intended to give any serious support to Sidney and his friends. The Count d'Estrades

* Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 412.

was even blamed, for a moment, for his eagerness in doing what John de Witt had requested from him. "We shall endeavour," writes M. de Lionne to him on the 2nd of April, 1666, "to regain here the passports which you have given to Messrs. Sidney and Ludlow. At all events, it is not the same thing that they should have been forwarded by a minister believing that he would thus serve his master better, and that they should have had them from his Majesty himself."*

At the latter part of this period Ludlow lived at Vevey, obscure but not tranquil, forgotten by nearly all except the assassins who were lying in wait for him, earnestly endeavouring to defend his life against the poniards of his enemies, and, we must confess it, against the anathemas of the greater part of his fellow-citizens,—a situation the more deplorable in that his mind could not discover any legitimate ground for it, and because all the want of success that befel his party, all the misfortunes of his own lot, were, in his eyes, nothing but an unreasonable and inexplicable iniquity.

The composition of his Memoirs was, doubtless, a source of consolation and hope for him at this period. He took pleasure in retracing the past, the time of his youth, strength, and glory, and in promising for himself justice from the future. Nevertheless there is ground to believe that he ended with despairing both of his work and of himself, for his Memoirs were closed in 1668, and during the twenty years he afterwards spent at Vevey, he did not take the trouble to continue the narrative of his monotonous existence.†

The revolution of 1688 came by surprise on Ludlow, and showed him that his country had not renounced the intention of being free, that its ancient enemies were vanquished and driven out. The old man did not doubt that the ideas of his youth were now again to be appreciated, and that the actions of his life would at length be treated with that justice which had been so long denied them. He left Vevey and returned to England: at the age of sixty-nine, after twenty-nine years of exile, he offered himself to fight again in Ireland with "the tyrant," as he said, "who has abdicated." Meanwhile, until they should accept his services, he walked about the streets of London, with a joy mingled with anger, delighted once more to behold the good people of England, and to show himself to them as one of their ancient de-

* Archives du département des affaires étrangères.

† See Note at p. 58.

fenders. On the 7th of November, 1689, Sir Edward Seymour, one of the leaders of that patriotic party which had just expelled James II., presented to King William an address from the House of Commons, entreating him to cause Colonel Ludlow to be arrested as one of the murderers of Charles I.*

Sad and inexplicable disappointment! The old man took to flight, and hid himself on the sea-shore, as he had before fled and hid himself thirty years previously, to escape from the restored monarch Charles II. He waited with anxiety till a favourable wind should once more transport him—always proscribed—far from his country, which had become free again. He arrived at Vevey, humbled, shattered, unable to comprehend, and still less able to endure this new turn of fortune, and died four years afterwards, in 1693, with no other consolation than the esteem of some foreigners, who had him buried in their church, and the affection of his wife, who raised a small monument to his memory.†

How are we to account for this sad destiny? Was it then

* Biographia Britannica, article "Ludlow," vol. v., p. 3032.

† This monument still remains in the church of St. Martin, at Vevey. A Latin inscription is engraved upon it, which records the principal events of Ludlow's life, the offices which he filled, and the constant affection of his widow, Elizabeth Oldsworth. Another inscription had been placed, at Vevey, over the door of the house in which Ludlow lived. It is as follows: "Omne solum forti patria, quia patris:" "Every soil is a country for the brave, because it is the soil of his father." This inscription was purchased, eighteen years ago, by an Englishman, who caused it to be removed. We are not aware whether he was prompted to this by enthusiasm or by indignation.

The following is the translation of the Latin inscription on Ludlow's monument:—"Stop and consider. Here rests Edmund Ludlow, an Englishman, of the county of Wiltshire; son of Henry Ludlow, knight, and member of Parliament, as he was also himself; he was honourable by his birth, but still more so by his virtue; in religion a Protestant, and of eminent piety. In the twenty-third year of his age he was made colonel of a regiment, and soon after lieutenant-general of the army. In this post he helped to subdue Ireland. He was intrepid, and regardless of life in battle; clement and humane in victory; the defender of his country's freedom, and the firm opponent of absolute power. Banished on this account from his native country, though worthy of a better lot, he took refuge in Switzerland for thirty-two years, and died in the sixty-third year of his age, regretted by his friends, but gaining a dwelling amidst eternal joys.

"His beloved, courageous, and bereaved companion in misfortune, as in marriage, Elizabeth, prompted by her devotedness, and the strength of conjugal affection, followed him in his exile until his death, and has caused this monument to be raised, to retain in perpetual remembrance her true and sincere affection for her deceased husband, in the year of our Lord 1693."—(Biographia Britannica, vol. v., p. 3033.)

What is most remarkable in this inscription, is the absolute silence it maintains with reference to the trial and condemnation of Charles I., whose name is not even mentioned.

without reason—without justice; was it only intended to exhibit, as Ludlow must have thought, a new illustration of the ingratitude of peoples: one of those severe strokes of fortune which man knows not how to explain? I cannot think so.

When the Parliament of 1640 opened, the desire of political reform was general in England. The mental activity and progress produced by the religious reformation made this desire a moral necessity; the absurd and unjust government of Charles I. made it a practical necessity. Both the claims of national thought and the safety of individual interests required that this end should be attained. The nation precipitated itself, without forethought, into the course that promised to conduct it thither.

But if, in the midst of this first spring of expectancy, the future which was awaiting it could have been at once revealed to this generation as it was buoyed up with this hope; if it had been able to see itself tormented, oppressed, plundered by its chiefs as well as by its enemies, the slave and sport of the personal interest of factions, as it had been of the caprices of the court; if it could have anticipated all the evils, all the crimes which it would have to undergo, in order that succeeding generations might enjoy a day of better government; can we believe that it would have entered upon the revolution with so much gaiety—can we even think it would have consented to enter upon it at all?

Happily for the moral dignity and progress of the human race, Providence does not entrust in this manner to each generation the knowledge of, and control over, that future which belongs also to others: when it designs to bring about one of those convulsions by which society expiates its errors, and commences a new era, it avails itself of the reckless daring of men in order to spur them onward in this terrible movement. But who can doubt that they would shrink from such an advance if they foreknew all the misery and shame that must attend it? Who can imagine that, in 1640, the English people would have consented to the civil war, the condemnation of Charles I., the anarchy of the Republic, the tyranny of Cromwell, and the corruption of the Restoration, as the price with which it was to purchase, in 1688, William III. and the Bill of Rights? Assuredly England, in its revolutionary enthusiasm, did not anticipate any of these things.

When such crises as these break out, men are always to be found who not only do not foresee more clearly than the

public the terrible consequences which will follow, but who are so constituted that, when these results appear, they will not see them or accept them as perfectly legitimate. These men—and I now speak only of those who are sincere and disinterested—are called to present a singular spectacle and suffer a strange destiny. They have proclaimed more confidently, more unreservedly than any others, the principles of reform; while, in fact, none forget and violate those principles more than themselves. They are, more than any others, ardently bent upon that general welfare which is the end which reform proposes for itself; and, in their efforts to attain it, they completely lose sight of it. The country stirs itself without foreseeing what will happen; they do more, they advance onwards without ever seeing what has already happened. Their actions belie their principles, and events contradict their hopes; they care not, they accept everything, individual crimes, public calamities; they call them necessities, and firmly believe that the country ought to receive them as such. It cannot be so; their blindness outlasts and survives the recklessness of the people; as they are gradually forsaken they become successively a party, a faction, a coterie; still they are unconcerned; at first they refuse to believe in their isolation, and, when they believe it, they will not understand it; they have sacrificed all, even their fellow-countrymen, and their own principles to the necessity of success; success also forsakes them, they are yet unenlightened as to their moral discredit and reverses.

Such were, in the English revolution, almost all the honest leaders of the Republican party; such, among others, was Edmund Ludlow. He was one of those limited and unbending spirits who are unable to admit more than one ruling idea; and who, when they have received this idea, are possessed by it, and allow it first to rule their conscience and then to acquire the undisputed sway of their whole being. To destroy the king and found the Republic, this was, I repeat, the fixed idea that governed his life. The despotism of the Long Parliament, first over the king's party, then over the nation when it desired to come to terms with the king; the despotism of the army over the Long Parliament, when this in its turn was desirous of peace; lastly, the despotism of the Rump over the army and nation when, after the death of Cromwell, all England demanded a full and free Parliament, which could not fail to recal Charles II.; all these violent

and conflicting powers appeared to Ludlow just and necessary, because he expected they would issue, first in the downfal of Charles I., then in the success of the Republican government. To this name alone he successively surrendered the laws, liberties, and happiness of his contemporaries, and remained firmly convinced that the perfidy, first of the king, then of the Parliament, then of the army, then of Cromwell, and finally of Monk, had alone made him and his faithful friends miscarry in their patriotic designs.

Ludlow was mistaken: the Republican party had brought its misfortunes entirely upon itself, by its own errors, its own unreasonableness, its own iniquities, and the evils which itself had caused to the country. It had aimed at imposing the Republic on England as Charles I. had aimed at imposing absolute power; it had not taken into consideration either existing interests, national feelings, the immediate results of its enterprise, or the justice of the means it adopted. It had obstinately shut its eyes to the rights which it violated, the resistance which it encountered, the reverses which it experienced, and to its own corruption, which soon came, and ended by bringing pretended Republicans into contempt, that over, into ridicule. Blinded by his infatuation, Ludlow, as long as he remained in active life, saw nothing of all this; when he wrote his Memoirs in the seclusion of his retreat, his infatuation was the same; in reviewing the past he perceived in it nothing which he could not have observed while mingling in its scenes, and his recollections were as confined as had been his judgment while the events were actually occurring around him. But England had seen and judged all; the antipathy and scorn which, in 1688, it again felt for the Stuarts, had not served to excuse, in public opinion, the former revolutionary factions; and when, at that period, Ludlow returned to his country, he did not find there any of the old prejudices which he took back with him; he was only recognised as one of the abettors of the absurd tyranny of the Rump, and one of the judges of Charles I. These were not the colours around which England was then rallying, and which were to be the heralds of the new revolution.

If Ludlow had known himself better, if he had been able to analyse with impartiality what was passing in his own mind when, proscribed and solitary, he was writing his Memoirs, he might have foreseen his unhappy disappointment. In vain is it that men mistake and elude the truth; it acts upon them

while they fail to recognise it; it appears even in the efforts which they make to keep it from their sight, and the blindness of the most obstinate is never exempt from a kind of bewilderment which betrays a secret apprehension of blame and error. Nothing could avail to enlighten Ludlow as to the faults of his party; he did not disapprove in his conscience, or disavow by his words, any of the acts to which it had given its concurrence. Nevertheless, we have only to read his Memoirs in order to be convinced that the remembrance of these acts, especially the condemnation of Charles I., was a source of regret and disquietude to him. He has defended, and wished to justify his conduct, but he constantly felt the absence of more solid grounds of justification. This is the thought from which all else in his Memoirs proceeded, and to which all is related; we are conscious that it pursues and annoys him; in spite of his patriotic disinterestedness he is oppressed by a peculiar position, in which he was especially involved; while he relates how the liberty of his country has been wrested from it, he is continually engaged in his own defence. This accounts for so many facts being unfaithfully represented, so much omission and reserve which it is difficult not to believe to be half-intended. Not only did not Ludlow see, in events, all that he might have seen, but he did not tell all that he had actually seen; he did not dare to relate in detail the death of the king, nor the resistance of the Presbyterian party in Parliament to the tyranny of the army, nor a number of the acts of the Republican party which his own principles condemned. He finds it necessary to dissimulate, to omit, or to pass rapidly over various circumstances, which were, nevertheless, weighty and important. In one word, his mind is naturally limited and obtuse, and even in its own sphere it is not free; blinded as he is, he is constrained to refuse admittance to the few rays of light which he cannot but see.

I have now said with reference to Ludlow all that I think; I have shown in him an example, among others, of the deplorable consequences of that spirit of faction, and that passionate adherence to one fixed idea which, in advancing to its goal, has regard neither to the laws of morality nor to the lessons of experience. His was a sad lot; we cannot say that it was an unjust one; nevertheless he had a certain right to regard it as such, since he had been ever sincere. A friend to truth, and desirous of the general welfare of the commu-

nity, his actions were disinterested, and he steadily followed his convictions, while but little enlightened as to what was passing around him, and incapable of comprehending events and men, he had impulses to justice and liberty often superior to the enlightenment of his age. Easily beguiled by his hopes, he remained constantly inaccessible to fear; if the extent of his attachment to his party was blameable, Cromwell was never able to intimidate or corrupt him. He learnt nothing by experience; but he was not overcome by it. As a Republican he entered Parliament, and he died a Republican on the borders of the Lake of Geneva. In his judgment we can find little to esteem, and in his life there is much which we must blame; but his name deserves our respect; and among those of his time who judged it with rigour, certainly the greater part had no proper appreciation of him.*

THOMAS MAY.

[1595—1656.]

ENGLAND has enjoyed its season of national gaiety and pleasure. This was during the reign of Elizabeth, when religious excitement, occasioned by fear of foreign invasion, arose in the very midst of the English Reformation. The condition of the people was still one of difficulty and agitation—liberty was far from complete, public prospects were uncertain; nevertheless the country was free from civil war, and seemed to be preparing itself for approaching prosperity. The government possessed the confidence of the nation: the queen, though often tyrannical, was popular and respected. In a time of such tranquillity there was no lack either of employment or of recreation. With the exception of the Puritans, then a small and obscure sect, the minds of the people, although active, were not absorbed by any one passion, nor committed to any regular system. They gave a ready reception to ideas and adventures, from whatever source they might be derived. In the pursuit of fame, wealth, or

* The Memoirs of Ludlow were first published at Vevey in 1698, in two volumes 8vo. A third volume appeared, also at Vevey, in 1699; and, in the same year, a French translation of the first two volumes was published at Amsterdam. The original text was reprinted in England, in 1751, in one volume folio, and has, since that time, passed through several editions.

pleasure, no expense was spared, no difficulty seemed insurmountable. At court and among the people, alike in the cottages of the poor and the mansions of the rich, there was diffused a general taste for society, whether festive or serious; the peasant had his rustic, the noble his sumptuous, festivals. Luxury with the great was gay, though pompous; the poor also found their circumstances no hindrance to mirth. In London, both the higher and lower orders flocked to the theatres to witness the performance of Shakspeare's dramas; in the country, they listened to the strains of wandering minstrels. Banquets and games almost daily relieved the monotony of labour and the constraint of religious solemnities. It was a time of great moral and political turmoil, but of free and happy movement, in which all seemed young and fresh;—a time at once peaceable and threatening, when society, as yet exacting little, was nevertheless full of ambition, curiosity, and hope.

When Charles I. ascended the throne the stream of progress had increased, and England was much changed. The religious spirit had extended itself, and had become excited and gloomy. The spirit of liberty, gathering intelligence and vigour, sought to express itself, and spoke loudly of its rights and expectations. In the place of that unsettled and so to speak, floating activity, ready to recognise, and even to serve, without any consideration of payment, a glorious and formidable national power, there arose on all sides determinate ideas, ardent passions, undeveloped factions, a tendency to scorn and oppose King James and his ignoble government. In proportion as the country had become exacting in its requirements, and severe in its habits, power had become arrogant in its pretensions, and dissipated in its morals; and the court pageantry which, under Elizabeth, had so greatly excited popular curiosity and admiration, was, under her successor, an object only of reprehension and disgust.

Charles I. invested royalty and its adjuncts with an imposing exterior. His character was dignified, his manners grave, and his morals pure. But things remained, in all essential respects, the same. The court, always brilliant, became more and more estranged from the country. The haughty nobility, indolent and impoverished, thronged round the prince, seeking only advancement and pleasure. The king's favourite, the Duke of Buckingham—an arrogant, haughty, pompous, frivolous man—trafficked with the power

and wealth of office, as if they were only valuable as a means of purchasing the subserviency of his creatures and gratifying his individual caprices. The queen, Henrietta Maria, desirous of preserving unaltered the habits in which she had been nurtured, busied herself in the endeavour to introduce at Whitehall the customs, pastimes, and ideas of the court of France; considering absolute power necessary to kingly dignity, and Catholicism the only religion becoming a prince. Poets, literary men, and wits, frequented the court in search of opportunities of display for their talent, distinction for their vanity, and pensions for their poverty. More excuse may be found for these than for other courtiers; for the tastes and pleasures of intellect create a certain noble and gentle fascination, which severs the imaginative man from the citizen, and fills his fancy with visions of those occupations alone which charm, and those protectors alone who encourage. In the midst of spectacles, elegant conversation, festivities, masquerades in which all the court shared, in animated and brilliant clubs, where the successors of Shakspeare met, and where Ben Jonson still presided, they easily forgot the ship-money, the controversies of the Puritans with Archbishop Laud, and the just though gloomy dissatisfaction of the country.

There was a young man who, at this period, frequented the court and the literary gatherings of the time. Of slender resources and retiring disposition, afflicted, moreover, with an impediment in his speech, which debarred him from conversation, he was yet animated, accomplished, with little pride but considerable susceptibility, and ready to apply the stores of his mind and the generosity of his character to promote the interests of his friends. Thomas May was born in Sussex, in the year 1595, of an ancient and honourable family. His early prospects of wealth were disappointed by the ruin of his father, who could bestow upon his son no other inheritance than a liberal education, and the hope of making his way by the assistance of that classic lore which he had cultivated at the University of Cambridge with assiduity and success. On leaving college, towards the close of the reign of James I., he came to London, and joined himself to the congenial literary circle of those who were devoted to the drama, to books, and to such diversions as had hitherto concealed the threatening approach of serious thought concerning liberty and the stern experiences of civil war.

Five dramatic compositions, which were favourably received,* a translation into verse of the Georgics and some of Martial's Epigrams, two historical poems—one relating to the reign of Henry II.,† the other to that of Edward III.‡—lastly, a translation of Lucan's Pharsalia, and the continuation of that poem, in Latin and English, up to the death of Cæsar, soon procured for him a brilliant reputation.

None of these works displayed great or original talent; none addressed themselves to the general public, or were likely to secure popularity. But they were acceptable to the literary world, which delights, while enjoying its own pleasures, to contemplate also its privileges; and to the court, which prides itself on according a willing admiration to those who amuse it. May's last work, the "Pharsalia," was regarded as a masterpiece, and it is still received with favour. In reading it, we are struck with the intimate acquaintance with the sentiments and manners of ancient Rome which it displays, and with the rare felicity of its style. Charles I. treated May with distinction; frequently called him his poet; and it was at the king's request that he composed his two poems on the reigns of Henry II. and Edward III.

At this time Charles I. was oppressing his subjects, and feelings of distrust and anger had begun to brood in their minds. But neither the king nor the poet had then the least suspicion of the alteration that was soon to occur in their sentiments towards each other, when the king would take up arms against his subjects, and the poet would enlist in the service of the enemies of his former patron.

Nevertheless, the relationship between men of letters and their superiors in station was not entirely of a pleasurable character, as May soon learnt by sad experience. The students of the Temple and their jovial associates, on one occasion, exhibited before the court one of the masquerades then in vogue. "They were," says an eye-witness, "well used at court by the king and queen; no disgust given them, only this one accident fell: Mr. May of Gray's Inn, a fine poet,

* These five pieces are: "The Heir," a comedy, performed in 1620; "Cleopatra," a tragedy, 1626; "Agrippina," a tragedy, 1628; "Antigone," a tragedy, 1631; and "The Old Couple," a comedy. None of these remain on the stage.

† "The reign of King Henry the Second, written in seven books, by his Majesty's command." 1633.

‡ "The victorious reign of Edward the Third, in seven books, by his Majesty's command." 1635.

he who translated *Lucan*, came athwart my lord chamberlain in the banqueting-house, and he broke his staff over his shoulders, not knowing who he was; the king present, who knew him, for he called him 'his poet,' told the chamberlain of it, who sent for him the next morning, and fairly excused himself to him, and gave him fifty pounds in pieces. I believe he was the more indulgent for his name-sake."*

We find here a remarkable illustration of the coarseness of the manners then allowed at court, and of the humiliating position it assigned to literary men, whom it yet carefully sought after, and who were the chief ministers to its gratification.

A circumstance, if not more offensive, yet more serious, soon after occurred, which altered the position of May, and gave a new direction both to his opinions and to his works. In 1637, Ben Jonson having died, the title and emoluments of poet-laureate, which had belonged to him, became vacant. May desired and solicited for the appointment, but a more fortunate candidate, Sir William Davenant, obtained it. Whether May had already formed connexions with the adversaries of the court, by which he had forfeited the royal favour, does not appear; it would be better for his reputation if this had been the case, but there is nothing to indicate that it was. Royalist writers attribute his desertion of their cause to the vexation which he experienced on this defeat. "Since his fortune," says Clarendon, "could not raise his mind, he brought his mind down to his fortune."† May could be satisfied with a court life only as it procured him success and advancement; the court had offended his pride and injured his fortune; accordingly the poet, filled with mortification and disgust, suddenly changed his party and sought patronage elsewhere.

It was not by his verses that May could find acceptance with the Long Parliament; the Presbyterian party expected other service from him than the composition of odes and tragedies. What offices were entrusted to him, and what recompense he received, is not known. We only find that he took the title of Clerk of the Parliament, that he was attached to Fairfax, and frequently took up military quarters during the civil war. There is no reason for believing that he ever

* See a letter of the 27th of February, 1634, addressed to the Earl of Strafford, then Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland.—(Biographia Britannica, art. May, vol. v., p. 3067, note E.)

† Life of Clarendon, vol. i., p. 39. Oxford ed.

played any prominent part in political transactions. The Parliament sought him for the same reason that Charles had, on account of his talent and literary renown, and accordingly he assisted in the struggle of political passions as he had in the festivities of the court. At the request of Charles I. he had composed poems; at the request of the Commons, or rather of some of its political leaders, he wrote the history of events as they came under his observation, and developed their historical significance. His "History of the Parliament" appeared in May, 1647, while the king was in captivity. The three books of it which he published proceeded as far as the battle of Newbury, fought on the 23rd of September, 1643.

No task can be more adventurous than to write the history of events while they are actually transpiring; and, above all, to compose, in the camp of one of the opposing parties, the history of an important revolution, which every year, or perhaps every month, appears under different leaders, and is determined by different principles, aims, and professions. It was not a simple pamphlet, devoted to the consideration of one question or of one circumstance which May had to compose; he did not pen chronicles intended for publication after his death, in which he could record, with or without impartiality but with perfect freedom, whatever he had seen, heard, or collected. He had an immediate end prescribed for him, which nevertheless he might not and would not bring into view. The day had long passed since the Parliament met enjoying the confidence of the entire nation. Even the most salutary revolution can never perform all the promises which it makes to its contemporaries, and must inevitably produce sufferings which it could not anticipate. England became more and more dissatisfied with its new masters. Oppressed by their despotism, distracted by their factions, desolated by civil war, it began to reproach the dominant party for having, by its own short-comings, caused the evils under which the country was groaning. The Parliament had to struggle with this opinion, attempting at once to justify what it had done, and to arrest its own course when the impetus urging it forward had become irresistible. It was, we cannot doubt, in this pressing and imperious emergency that May undertook his history. "Perchance," he himself says, in the preface, "some readers may be put in mind of their own thoughts heretofore; which thoughts have since, like Nebuchadnezzar's

dream, departed from them. An English gentleman, who went to travel when this Parliament was called, and returned when these differences were grown among us, hearing what discourses were daily made, affirmed that the Parliament of England, in his opinion, was more misunderstood in England than at Rome; and that there was greater need to remember our own countrymen, than to inform strangers of what was past; so much, said he, have they seemed to forget the things themselves, and their own notions concerning them."

Such being the disposition of the people, a treatise which should present itself as apologetic might expect instant condemnation; it was necessary that a work of a more grave and calm bearing, written as if addressed only to posterity, should bring back fresh to the minds of the people the corrupt state of Charles's government before the assembling of the Long Parliament, and should exhibit the conduct of the House since that time as uniformly patriotic, as dictated by a necessity imposed upon it solely by the evil practices of the king and by his obstinate refusal of the only guarantees which could secure permanence for their liberty. It was required that, in such a work, the passions of the Parliamentary party, its intrigues, its illegal practices, the personal aims of its chiefs, whatever had tended to reflect a slight on the power residing in the popular will, should be absolutely omitted and ignored, as if nothing of the kind had influenced the course of events; as if all the transactions of the House, and the consequences flowing from them, were traceable solely to the malicious designs of their adversaries and the necessities of their position. Such is the true character of May's "History of the Long Parliament," a work at once official and literary, written by a man naturally moderate, and careful to preserve, in the tone of his work at least, that impartiality which the mission of the historian seemed to him to demand, but engaged in the service of a power embarrassed by its own existence, regarded with coldness by the public, and which, feeling itself unsustained by any popular enthusiasm, wished at least to show that it had only acted from necessity and duty.

While with these intentions May was composing and publishing his book, a new power arose, less scrupulous, more energetic, more aggressive; this was the Republican party and the army. That which had sufficed as an apology for the Presbyterians would not satisfy Cromwell and the Independents. May abandoned his history. How, indeed, could

he have continued it? In passing on to the next chapter he would have been compelled to change his principles and his heroes, abjure the Earl of Essex, Hollis, and all the claims of moderation in its treatment of the king which he had made on behalf of the Parliament. The transition would have been too abrupt, and the contrast too palpable. May probably perceived this, for he ceased to write for some time. I find even, in Whitelocke's "Memorials," a fact stated which seems to indicate that he allowed a disposition very much like opposition to manifest itself against Cromwell and the Independents. Whitelocke, under date of February 5, 1650, states, "that one Mr. Thomas May was secured by the governor there (at Weymouth), and to be sent up in custody to London, for raising false rumours concerning the Parliament and the general."* May attempted, doubtless verbally, to defend his Presbyterian patrons; but Cromwell was as skilful in winning over his adversaries, as he was vigorous in crushing them. There is no indication of what became of May after he had been conveyed in custody to London, nor what was the nature of the relationship established between him and the republican general. Only we find him again at liberty towards the close of the year 1650, and publishing first in Latin, then in English, a "Breviary of the History of the Parliament of England; expressed in three Parts: 1. The Causes and Beginnings of the Civil War of England; 2. A short mention of the Progress of the Civil War; 3. A compendious relation of the Original and Progress of the Second Civil War." In this new work the revolution was entirely retraced up to the trial of Charles, and matters were placed in such a light as would be most agreeable to Cromwell, and to the party which Cromwell was endeavouring to corrupt, and which he meanwhile deceived.

Whoever, after having witnessed a revolution, will take the trouble of comparing the two works of Thomas May, will be struck with the great difference between them. There is no gross and palpable contradiction; the historian, deficient neither in moderation nor in the art of presenting facts so as to serve the end he had in view, has yet been careful to preserve the appearance of impartiality. But the circumstances of his position determine his conclusions, and show themselves in the incidental reflections, the groundless insinuations, the

* Whitelocke's Memorials of English Affairs. 1684. Folio, p. 440.

general colouring, which characterise his narrative. In 1646 the cause of the king did not seem utterly lost; that of the Parliament was still merely an opposition fundamentally legitimate, though already sustained by much fraud and iniquity. Most good citizens still hoped for peace, and the revolution was desirous merely of justifying itself for not having before concluded it. It had not been able to do this, although it had constantly desired it, and this is what May had undertaken to prove for the Parliament; he had addressed himself chiefly to that enlightened and moderate portion of the public from whom the Parliament had received, in 1640, its force and impulse. In 1650, on the other hand, the revolution had pushed its violence to the last extreme; the final, irrevocable act had been consummated, to the great dissatisfaction of the city of London, of a large number of the country gentlemen, and of honest townsmen who were but a short time before actively engaged in promoting the Parliamentary cause. The Independents, who were now the sole rulers, neither attempted nor wished to rally these classes; it was to the lower orders that they looked for support, and even among them their credit began to wane. The king became popular as soon as he died, and the restoration of those Presbyterian members who had been excluded from the Parliament was constantly demanded by enraged mobs. Now, therefore, was it necessary to address the inferior classes, and to revive in them those interests and prejudices which might serve the revolution, by reaffirming old suspicions and distrust, and exhibiting, as alone faithful to the national cause, those men who had either urged on or followed the revolution to its extreme limit, whatever might be the real wish or ultimate fate of the country.

It was with this design that May, with prudent conformity to circumstances, instead of continuing his history wrote his breviary, in which the narrative is recast and completed. His tone is bitter and sarcastic, not only towards the king and the Royalists, but towards all parties, all sections, all individuals, who believed that the revolution should have been arrested in its course. Different opinions are no longer, as in the former work, presented with that apparent impartiality which seems to leave the verdict concerning them to be pronounced by the reader. The author limits himself to the relation of such facts as reflect favourably on the revolution

in its last stage, introducing, wherever an opportunity is presented, reflections and insinuations most calculated to bring into odium or suspicion, in the eyes of the people, every opinion, and all conduct, except that of Cromwell and his adherents.

But in imposing upon himself this task, the historian had undertaken more than his personal feelings, and perhaps, also, those of the public, would allow him to execute. Presbyterian in his opinions and moderate in his character, May felt himself obliged to halt in the new course he had undertaken. After having written so as to serve the interests of Cromwell and the Independents, the history of the civil war, and of the internal dissensions of the Parliament, after having palliated the despotism of the army and the violent expulsions from the House of Commons, he did not dare to relate, as without doubt his patrons wished, the trial and death of Charles I. The "Breviary" finishes abruptly on the brink of this terrible fact, which, says the author, "would make a history by itself." It is something that party spirit and subservience to authority should recognise some limit, whatever it be.

May did not long survive the publication of his last work. On the 13th of November, 1650, after having, say his biographers, gaily quaffed his accustomed bottle of wine, he retired to rest without displaying any symptom of disease, and the next morning was found dead in his bed. His literary renown was great; he had served well the sect which then presided alone in the House of Commons; they granted him a stately funeral and a tomb in Westminster Abbey, where a monument in white marble, adorned with a long inscription, was erected to his memory. Ten years after, Charles II. had ascended the throne, and political reactions, like revolutions, did not respect even the resting-places of the dead; on the 12th and 14th of September, 1661, the bodies of Admiral Blake, of Pym, of the mother of Cromwell, of his daughter, Lady Claypole, and of Thomas May, were exhumed from Westminster and removed pell-mell, says a Puritan historian,* to the burying-ground of St. Margaret's Church, and, as long as the Stuarts reigned, the memory and the writings of the poet-historian were treated with as little consideration as his mortal remains.

* Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv., pp. 317-318.

I will not use the language of Clarendon, who, leagued with May at first, afterwards accused him of "prostituting himself to the vile office of celebrating the infamous acts of those who were in rebellion against the king; which he did so meanly, that he seemed to all men to have lost his wits when he left his honesty."* A more impartial writer than Clarendon, who, under Charles I., had sympathised with the Reformers, but who, after the Restoration, almost always sided with the Opposition, and whom Charles II. several times ineffectually attempted to seduce—Andrew Marvell—has written a short poem against May, in which he reproaches "his mercenary pen," ridicules the truckling subservience which led him to speak of one man of his party as "a Cato," of another as "a Cicero," and maintains that the errors of his history have originated, "not by ignorance, or seeming good, but malice."

A century had not passed away before Lord Chatham,† the father of Mr. Pitt, and himself one of the greatest statesmen who ever ruled England, writing to his nephew, Lord Camelford, then studying at the University of Cambridge, uses the following language:‡

"I desired you some time since to read 'Lord Clarendon's History of the Civil Wars.' I have lately read a much honester and more instructive book, of the same period of history: it is the History of the Parliament, by Thomas May, Esq."

About the same time,§ the learned and ingenious Bishop Warburton writes thus to Dr. Hurd: "'May's History of Parliament' is a just composition, according to the rules of history. It is written with much judgment, penetration, manliness, and spirit; and with a candour that will greatly increase your esteem, when you understand that he wrote by order of his masters, the Parliament."

Thus, the man whom, a little after his death, a patriotic Independent charged with venality and perfidy, was considered eighty years later, and perhaps is still considered by modern patriots, as the most impartial and faithful narrator of that great crisis to which England owes its liberties.

Neither the predilections of party, nor the fickleness of

* Memoirs of the Private Life of Clarendon, vol. i., p. 40. Oxford, 1827.
† Biographia Britannica, article "May," vol. v., p. 3070. Edition of 1760.
‡ September 5th, 1754. § August 16th, 1753.

human judgments, will suffice to explain these differences of opinion; they must be traced to more general causes. The estimate of that revolution which Thomas May has related has changed as well as the repute of his book; and it is because the events themselves present a different aspect that the historian is judged so differently.

May has in his "History," if not in his "Breviary," seized upon those truths, the recollection of which is still cherished, and which alone, after the lapse of a hundred and fifty years, can retain their importance in the eyes of Englishmen. Events do not present themselves in their completeness, nor in their full realisation, to the eyes of those living subsequently to the epoch in which they occurred. Men of an after age look for and regard that only which still interests themselves, whatever has influenced their own destiny, whatever corresponds to their particular impressions, notions, and wants. The Long Parliament, and all the parties which it engendered, notwithstanding the original justice of their cause, became violent, deceitful, unjust, tyrannical; England suffered during its continuance all the evils of civil war and sectarian rule; these sufferings were followed by reactions, which in their turn produced new reactions; for fifty years public confidence and hope passed alternately from kings to parliaments, and from parliaments to kings, wandering from one name to another; from system to system, from power to power, finding nowhere any settlement or repose. All this is now past and forgotten, and all that remains of the Revolution of 1640, is the general principles which it proclaimed, and the salutary results which it secured for the country; these are the associations that win for it the continued attachment and remembrance of the English people; no one now cares to weigh scrupulously the merits of particular acts, nor to ascertain what deductions are to be made for individual sins. We do not expect that a reader of the history of that period should sympathise with all the impressions which were natural to a contemporary, and kindle into anger at the mention of wrongs and iniquities which he has neither seen nor suffered. Each age has its own destiny and its own life; only that can affect it vividly of which it bears the pain or gathers the fruit; and but few men possess that judicial firmness and disinterestedness which will move them to disentangle the entire truth out of facts which do not press upon themselves. Here, then, we

see why it is that Thomas May is held in such high esteem by English patriots; he has presented the revolution as it appears in fact to them, showing its aims and real causes. What he has said of it—the value which he attributes to it—is just that which remains now, and still answers to the ideas and sentiments of his modern readers. What he has misrepresented, or omitted, is that which no personal feelings will lead them to inquire into, and no consideration prompts them to make a rigorous investigation. There are truths which die with the age that witnessed them, and the world would become too wise if it had collected, without any diminution, all those verities which have come to light since men and events have existed.

I do not, therefore, wonder that the Whigs of our own day should be so little struck with the adroit partiality which characterises the writings of Thomas May, and eulogise him as a "candid and upright" historian. It is even honourable to his intellect, if not to his character, that, writing the history of events which were passing under his eye, he has exhibited an impartiality that belongs to posterity. In no case has he done violent outrage to truth; he has apologised for no crime, nor for any great disorder; he has not wantonly insulted his adversaries. Omission, palliation, dissimulation, is his method and aim; his reason never allows him to attempt more; and if, in his "Breviary," he is more completely chained to a violent faction, I am constrained to believe that it was not without perplexity nor without regret.

Nevertheless, thus much having been said, and this allowance having been made in accommodation to the egoism of men and of ages—an allowance which it were unreasonable to refuse—the higher tribunal of truth and justice remains, to which we must finally refer—justice, which in the rigour of its verdict has no respect for persons; truth, knowing neither compromise nor limitation. This is at once the prerogative and the duty of history; only thus can it acquire a moral element. It may hear, understand, and explain all—the empire of circumstance and of passion, the rival claims of conflicting interests, the success or failure of political combinations, and that irresistible current of events which urges men along its course, and exerts so mighty an influence on their conduct and destiny. But history, which must traverse all these paths, must not stop in any—it has a goal to which it

must direct itself. It must determine and judge. In the actions and events which it relates there is good and evil, justice and injustice, wisdom and folly. They have a meaning and a worth; they are either consonant with, or contrary to, the universal order of things, and the eternal laws of the reason. In that valley of Jehoshaphat, where all must descend as they quit the scene, there is a judgment which awaits those who have been the actors, and, in a measure, the authors of history—a judgment supremely wise and equitable, which knows and measures all, determines the sphere of each, and the part which each shall perform—a judgment, in fine, which decides and declares, and illumines with the torch of truth the complicated web of human action and destiny. If history does not light this torch—if, on arriving at its goal, it has no decision to offer, no verdict to bring, it loses its intellectual worth and its moral dignity; it is nought but a frivolous display of empty trifling.

At the same time it loses its practical importance. History can offer to us serious lessons only in so far as it determines and judges. If it merely aims to bring before our eyes the spectacle of human activity without disclosing its meaning and results, it may indeed pretend to amuse us, but it is no longer the lamp of experience guiding our steps onwards into the future by a light reflected from the past.

But to accomplish so lofty an end, to become at once moral and instructive, the virtue of sincerity is pre-eminently necessary. When the lives and liberties of our fellow-men are concerned, the law justly requires a scrupulous exactness in the collection of facts, and in securing at every step of the process publicity and certainty. And history is the tribunal to which the honour and the moral life of men are brought to receive a lasting sentence: its aim is to teach; its voice pronounces a verdict. Conscientiousness, impartiality, perfect ingenuousness, and publicity, are here sacred duties;—so much the more sacred, inasmuch as history speaks of those who are departed, and addresses itself to the public, which is more easily duped.

When our civilisation shall have become more diffused and elevated, that public which must finally test those who serve it, which guides and gives morality to the time, will, I doubt not, show itself especially severe and unrelenting towards historians. It will demand from them a due regard to the

morality of their mission, and will inflict a just reprobation on those who perpetuate through ages the illusions of a time of civil discord and faction.

Here it is that we discover the error of Thomas May and his "History of the Long Parliament." We must accord to his work the merit of being important and curious, as it could not fail of being when we consider that it is almost an official history, written as the events which it records occurred, under the direction of the chief actors, and with the design of keeping or regaining the attachment of the English to that cause which was, on the whole, the cause of the country; but it has the vices of hypocrisy and partiality—a cultured partiality, which veils itself under the guise of truth, and avails itself, for purposes of deception, of that uninquiring facility with which even earnest minds often form their opinions when the full and exact knowledge of the truth is no longer for them a matter of immediate and practical interest.

SIR PHILIP WARWICK.

[1608—1683.]

Great revolutions meet with a double opposition from enemies to their nature and their mode of development; from those who condemn the end which they pursue, and from those who object to the means which they employ. They concern themselves only with the first, but the second soon become their most formidable adversaries, and it is in the struggle with these that they betray their weakness, until they have learnt to purify and moderate themselves.

We should bestow too much honour on Sir Philip Warwick did we class him with those men who were opposed only to the hypocrisy, the perfidy, the tyranny, the violence of the Revolution of 1640. He was no stranger to the false ideas and unworthy interests of the court of the Stuarts; he did not disapprove of all the illegitimate pretensions of power, and he neither liked nor did he thoroughly understand the general principles which were urged in support of political rights and freedom. Nevertheless, he was not one of those who were

indifferent to the injustice of Charles's government, who entertained no respect for the time-honoured laws and characters of their country, and who adopted the maxims of absolute power with the flippancy of courtiers who expect to gain by it. He is the type and representative of a large class of men, numerous at that time in England, who, without occupying a prominent place in history, yet exerted a real influence on the events of their time; men devoted with an almost superstitious regard to Charles I., yet friends to their country which Charles oppressed; attached to the court, and to the last espousing its cause, yet without having lost all reverence for established laws, all respect for public liberty, never estranged from national interests nor insensible to patriotic emotions. These men constituted the main strength of the Stuart party in England from 1640 to 1688. Unenlightened, yet not servile, stationary rather than biassed by interest, they mingled confusedly the old maxims of Magna Charta with the recent maxims of the courts of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth; they regarded sovereignty as belonging to the king alone, a sovereignty independent of the Parliament; and yet they considered the pretensions of a monarch to rule without a Parliament as dangerous and illegitimate. They repudiated the natural consequences of the Reformation, yet they detested the papacy. They fondly wished to reconcile the royal prerogative carried out according to the pattern of Elizabeth, and the incomplete and compromising revolution as accomplished by Henry VIII., with the downfal of Catholicism and the constitutional liberties handed down from their ancestors. Vain attempt! which led its partisans to shake hands with despotism and imperil the reformation, but which, by a marvel of human inconsistency, did not prevent them from maintaining the independence of their character, the patriotism of their sentiments, and their influence on the nation, with which they could not but identify themselves.

Sir Philip Warwick was one of these men: if his obscure political life gives but little indication of this, his writings, and especially his "Memoirs," do not allow us to doubt it. He was born at London in 1608, and descended from a respectable family of the county of Cumberland. He was brought up at Eton,—afterwards he travelled in France, and resided some time at Geneva. On his return to England he

became private secretary to Juxon, Bishop of London, then Lord Treasurer, and obtained the office of Clerk of the Signet.* Bishop Juxon was, as Warwick says in his Memoirs, one of the most respected and learned men attached to the royal cause. As Lord Treasurer he acted with wisdom and economy, opposing to abuses the honourable though ineffectual resistance of an upright minister, who has only his own virtue to defend him from the feebleness of the monarch and the greediness of courtiers. Young Warwick had at least the advantage of not being connected with a personally vicious administration, and of not himself having formed that habit of misapplying the power conferred by office which so soon corrupts those who are its instruments. Although his post was an unimportant one, it established him at court, where he formed those social connexions which determine both the lot and the opinions of most men, and was sometimes the medium of communication between the minister and the king, whose good-will he thus obtained. In 1640 the borough of Radnor, in Wales, appointed him its representative in the Long Parliament, where he uniformly sided with the Royalist party—conduct which would have earned for him no praise were it not for the displays of courage which it involved, and which he constantly manifested. On the 21st of April, 1641, he was one of the fifty-six members who voted against the bill of attainder by which the Parliament, without the formality of a trial, sent the Earl of Strafford to the scaffold. All the chronicles of the time testify to the danger which was incurred by those who refused thus to lend their assent to a public injustice, the clamour which attended their entrance into or departure from the House, the fury of the mobs by whom they were baited and reviled, and who denounced them by name on placards as "Straffordians, traitors to their country." Such a courage is less rare at the commencement of a revolution than at its close, before character has suffered in the violent shock of untoward experience. Nevertheless it is always difficult and noble to confront a triumphant party, and resist the intimidations of the multi-

* The signet is one of the seals of the King of England, and is affixed to letters which the king addresses to private individuals and to certain other documents. This seal is always under the guardianship of one of the royal secretaries, and there are four clerks of the signet. By a statute of the 57th year of George the Third (1817), they have been declared ineligible to a seat in Parliament. (See Tomlins's "Dictionary of English Law," 3rd edit., London, 1820.)

tude. Sir Philip Warwick never yielded. When war was declared, he was one of the first to quit the House of Commons and join the king, and on the 5th of February, 1643, the Parliament dismissed him from their number. At that time he had already borne arms against the Parliament; he himself tells us that, at the battle of Edgehill (23rd of October, 1642), he was one of a party of gentlemen who formed themselves into a squadron and were the first to charge the enemy.

Nothing remarkable is related of him during the civil war; we find only that Charles I. entrusted him with his confidence, often asked his advice, and employed him in several difficult missions, in which, however, Warwick was for the most part unsuccessful; not so much through any mistake of his own, as through the dissensions of the Royalist party, which proved itself as ungovernable in misfortune as it had been incapable of rule in prosperity. Warwick was fully awake to the interior vices of his party, and to the fatal consequences which must result from them. He did not write his "Memoirs" till a time when experience ought to have revealed to him that which perhaps he had not anticipated; nevertheless the character of his mind gives ground for believing that he was never the dupe of his position; his reason, wanting in depth and culture, was yet upright, simple, practical, and quickly enlightened by facts as to the errors in conduct and the extravagant expectations of his friends. Though little qualified by his situation and capacity to view comprehensively and judge impartially the cause he had embraced, he was not so warped by passion, or deficient in sagacity, as to fail to see that it was ruined long before the event justified the opinion.

When Charles I., brought to that extremity in which every new step involved him in fresh and inextricable difficulties, fled from Hampton Court, and took refuge in a worse prison, the Isle of Wight, Warwick followed him, in the capacity of secretary. The "Memoirs" which he has left relating to this period are full of a deep and pressing interest; they not only abound with curious information, but the narrative is pervaded by profound—albeit undiscriminating—feeling. This is not merely a general expression of that loyalty which necessarily arose in the mind of Warwick from the position which he occupied,—it is rather the utterance of an unrestrained and indomitable will. It is a sincere, pensive, tender exhibi-

tion of personal affection, which survived the death of Charles, and led Warwick to say, thirty years afterwards, with touching emotion, "I am comforted in the approach of death, with the hope of again seeing my king in heaven." Sentiments of this character are generally attributable to the power exerted by the imagination on men who have endured great reverses of fortune, and been led to contemplate the contrast thus suggested between the greatness of the world and the misery of humanity. There is yet another cause. The overwhelming influence of calamity awakens, in natures susceptible of some generous emotions, feeling, impulses, virtues to which they were before strangers, which had been hidden in prosperity, and which suddenly burst, as a simple dignity that belongs to the man, instead of an artificial majesty that is the dress of the king. This was the case with Charles I. This prince, who had been so haughty—at once self-confident and yet fickle—pompous in show and frivolous in reality—astonished both his friends and enemies by his unpretending dignity in misfortune, his reverence for religious obligations, his gentleness and calmness in discussion. "The king has marvellously improved," said, in 1648, the Earl of Salisbury, Commissary of the Parliament, to Warwick, in one of their conferences in the Isle of Wight. "Your lordship is mistaken," was the reply; "the king has been always the same, but your lordship has perceived it too late." It was Warwick who was mistaken: Charles had become what he had not been before; and it is chiefly to this display of moral greatness in the person of the fallen king, this sudden appearance of pure, simple, virtuous sentiments which had been stifled under the trappings of royalty, that we must ascribe that real tenderness and earnest compassion which was entertained for the king by many who unreflectingly saw in Charles a prince more worthy of the throne in proportion as he receded from it.

At the close of his life, one circumstance had the effect of removing Warwick from Charles I. It appears that, after the death of the king, he suddenly left England. When he returned, Cromwell was reigning, and exercising a power at once precarious and despotic, such as no party could restrain or dared to oppose, but such as no one desired should be permanently established. In the attempts of the Protector to conciliate the Royalists, Warwick, it seems, was not forgotten. "I have no mind," he says, "to give an ill

character of Cromwell, for in his conversation towards me he was ever friendly; though at the latter end of the day, finding me ever incorrigible, and having some inducements to suspect me a tamperer, he was sufficiently rigid. The first time I ever took notice of him was in the very beginning of the Parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman—for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes! I came into the House one morning, well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking, whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hatband; his stature was of a good size; his sword stuck close to his side; his countenance swollen and reddish; his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour; for the subject-matter would not bear much of *reason*, it being on behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had dispersed libels against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council-table unto that height, that one would have believed the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council, for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I lived to see this very gentleman—whom out of no ill-will to him I thus describe—by multiplied good success, and by real (but usurped) power (having had a good tailor, and more converse among good company), in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his sergeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestic deportment and comely presence. Of him, therefore, I will say no more, but that verily I believe he was extraordinarily designed for those extraordinary things, which one while most wickedly and facinorously he acted, and at another as successfully and greatly performed."

Warwick, however, was not to be won by the attentions of the new master of Whitehall. Doubtless his attachment to the Stuarts would have prevented his forming any such new connexion; but, apart from this, he had a sufficiently accurate discernment of the real position of Cromwell to prevent him

from despairing of the ultimate reinstalment of the Cavaliers. From his retirement in the county of Kent, Warwick observed, with a rare sagacity, that strange exercise of authority, vigorous and glorious, but always unsteady and insecure; permitted and recognised by all, but regarded as final by neither Presbyterians, Independents, nor Royalists, and such that no one wished it to receive the sanction of law. This authority expired with the man who had held it as his personal possession, and then appeared a far different scene, in which the weakness of the contending parties who successively composed the Long Parliament became evident. It was soon obvious that these were no longer political parties, but rather revolutionary factions, who had sunk into the condition of miserable coteries; separated from the nation, which no longer granted them any confidence or support; busy only in advancing their own personal interests, and preventing the restoration of Charles II., which became daily more inevitable. Warwick, in the last part of his Memoirs, has given a graphic picture of this languishing and contemptible anarchy, to which no party, not even the Royalist, condescended an active opposition, because all England foresaw that it must soon die a natural death. At an early period he commenced negotiations, whose object, as was evident to all, though avowed by none, was the restoration of Charles II. When events thus accomplish themselves, individuals play but a secondary part in them. Monk alone signed the deed of restoration; but Warwick was one of those who, in his private conferences, forwarded to the utmost the general movement.

After the return of Charles II. he was chosen member for Westminster, in the first Parliament called by the king, on the 8th of May, 1661; a Parliament which continued, as we know, till 1679. Warwick appears forty times in the collection of the debates of this protracted assembly, almost always confining his remarks to a few sentences, and seldom indulging in lengthened speeches. There is no indication that he had any share in those shameful intrigues which so often disgraced the court and Parliament. He had resumed the office of Clerk of the Signet; the estimable Earl of Southampton had confided to him the post of Secretary to the Treasury, and he had thus the happiness of again becoming connected with the only minister who never lost the esteem

and good-will of the people. On the death of the Earl of Southampton, in 1667, Warwick retired from office, but still retained his seat in Parliament. As far as we can gather from the fragmentary notices of him which remain in the parliamentary debates,* he voted constantly in favour of the court party; and his every word betrays that dread of innovation, that horror of all opposition, that haunting apprehension of new revolutions, which, after long-continued political disorder, takes possession of most peaceably-disposed men, and leads them into a kind of disinterested servility, not less fatal to that government which they wish to defend than are the assaults of its most determined foes.

Warwick's leisure hours were more usefully employed than those which he spent in the House. Married twice, possessed of a comfortable fortune, and respected by his neighbours, he wrote, in his retirement at Frognal, a "Discourse on Government†" and his "Memoirs,"‡ which he finished, as he himself informs us, in 1677. Neither of these works was published during his life. He died the 15th of January, 1683, and the Discourse on Government appeared in 1694, under the editorship of Dr. Smith. The Memoirs did not make their appearance till 1701. In subsequent editions the Discourse on Government has frequently followed the Memoirs.

The first of these works contains nothing remarkable. Like the author's mind, it wants definiteness and grasp; it is much more favourable to absolute power than to liberty, and yet it shows that Warwick shrank from both the first principles and the legitimate consequences of his own ideas. Theories of despotism found in Hobbes, at that time, a far more powerful, and in Filmer a far more consistent, advocate.

As to the Memoirs, they are the expressions of an opinion which, though uninfluential at the commencement of a revolution, become general and powerful through its excesses; an opinion which, above everything, wishes for order, and thinks that only the strong arm of power can secure it;

* Cobbett's Parliamentary History, vol. iv., pp. 414, 522, 536, 540, 574, 844, 865, 925, 938, 954, 1033, 1043.

† A Discourse of Government, as examined by Reason, Scripture, and the Law of the Land. A small volume in 12mo.

‡ Memoirs of the Reign of Charles the First, with a Continuation to the Restoration. One vol. 8vo. London, 1701.

which loves justice and dreads freedom, the only real guardian of justice; which only concerns itself about the present, and remains ever blind to the future; which, while sincere, is incapable of foresight, and, with upright intentions, gives its assent to maxims which encourage the approach of corrupting influences to the government, and then gazes with blank astonishment at the revolutions which these corruptions have produced.

As a historian, Warwick is frigid and diffuse. This is the fault of most English writers at that time; one would think that they wrote for themselves and not for the public, and they report facts or develop ideas as they are presented to their minds, without troubling themselves to exhibit them to their readers in the clearest and most attractive form. The last chapters of Warwick's Memoirs, however, are exempt from this fault,—those which relate to the residence of Charles I. in the Isle of Wight; they give a vivid description of that exciting period, and several of the anecdotes related by Warwick are not to be found in any other records of the time.

JOHN LILBURNE.

[1618—1657.]

In 1647, the civil war seemed to have reached its termination. Charles I. was in the hands of his conquerors. In the Parliament and country generally, the Presbyterians and Independents vied with each other with that passionate vehemence and regard for personal interests which is ever excited in revolutionary factions by the possession or expectation of power. "At that time," says Mr. Hutchinson, "a certain sort of public-spirited men stood up in the Parliament and the army, declaring against these factions and the ambition of the grandees of both, and the partiality that was in these days practised, by which great men were privileged to do those things which meaner men were punished for, and the injustice and other crimes of particular members of Parliament, were rather covered than punished, to the scandal of the whole House. . . The lords claimed many preroga-

tives, which set them out of the reach of common justice, which these good-hearted people would have equally to belong to the poorest as well as to the mighty; and for this and such other honest declarations, they were nicknamed *Levellers*. Indeed, as all virtues are mediums, and have their extremes, there rose up afterwards with that name a people, who endeavoured the levelling of all estates and qualities, which these sober Levellers were never guilty of desiring, but were men of just and sober principles, of honest and religious ends, and therefore hated by all the designing, self-interested men of both factions."*

The revolution pursued its course, and Mrs. Hutchinson her narrative. "After the death of the king," she says, "it was debated and resolved to change the form of government from a monarchy into a commonwealth. A council of state was to be annually chosen for the management of affairs, accountable to the Parliament. At that time almost every man was fancying a form of government, and angry that his invention took not place; and, among these, John Lilburne, a turbulent-spirited man, who never was quiet with anything, published libels; and the Levellers made a disturbance with a kind of insurrection."†

The English government was then republican, and Colonel Hutchinson had a seat in the Council of State. The honest Levellers of whom his wife spoke with so much sympathy in 1647, were considered by her as ambitious meddlers in 1649. Mrs. Hutchinson's opinion was incorrect at both of these periods; the Levellers, from their origin, were a turbulent and quarrelsome faction, devoid of all political sense, and opposed to every form of government; and yet at the same time, though passing through the corrupting phases of anarchy and despotism, many of them kept their faith and remained unimpeachably honest. John Lilburne was at once the type and the hero of the party. He exercised no influence whatever upon the progress of the revolution in England, and, nevertheless, the part which he took in it is remarkable from his unswerving attachment to certain ideas, from which the great revolutionary parties of that epoch by turns borrowed their means of attack, but which they never openly adopted as their standard. Unable either to cause or permit the

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 316 (Bohn's Standard Library).
† Ibid., p. 337.

foundation of any government, and an enemy to all forms of tyranny, Lilburne attacked and endured them all, and did not retire from the conflict until his wearied country ceased to supply him with the weapons necessary for his warfare.

He was born in 1618, of an ancient and respectable family in the county of Durham; and his pedigree was traced back to Sir John Lilburne, who was made prisoner by the Scotch in 1375. As the youngest son, John was in due time apprenticed to Thomas Hewson, a merchant-tailor in the city of London. The city apprentices then formed a numerous class, who were rendered promptly accessible to the influence of all new ideas by their ancient habits of practical liberty, the easy circumstances in which they were placed, and the leisure which they enjoyed. Their political creed was not embarrassed by those doubts which are sometimes originated by superior knowledge; with more ardour than reflection, they suffered themselves to be guided by generous instincts and some few simple notions of natural justice; and the learned subtlety of jurisprudence, which led most of the young students of the Temple to defend existing abuses, was an object of the special hatred of the apprentices. Under Charles I., they raised the standard of reform, and furnished the Parliament with some of its noisiest supporters in London; while the army derived from their ranks, at a later period, some of its bravest soldiers. But the apprentices were far too shrewd to be long deceived with regard to their real necessities, and when they saw that civil war obtained for them not liberty and improvement, but fetters and increased taxation, they became as ardent for peace as they had previously been anxious for war; and as the want of the real benefits of that liberty which they had hoped to gain became daily more apparent, they transferred to their new masters that hatred which had induced them to rise in rebellion against their old ones. In February, 1660, the apprentices cleared the butchers' shops to celebrate the downfal of the Rump Parliament, and they soon afterwards welcomed Charles II. with acclamations, as loud as the hootings with which they had assailed his father.

Lilburne commenced his career among the apprentices; but he soon became diverted from his first interests, or, rather, he devoted himself with intense earnestness to the single interest of his own ideas. He walked alone in the

midst of all the factions of the revolution; some of which did not scruple to exercise the greatest tyranny that they might realise their dreams of liberty, whilst others, in order to escape from the dominant form of despotism, consented to sacrifice all the guarantees of their future freedom. Lilburne made no sacrifices and accepted no compromises. Of a narrow but an ingenious mind, and of an indomitable character, he remained firm at the post which he had chosen for himself, and possessed no other influence but that which any man may gain over the multitude by an exhibition of fortitude and intrepidity. Always in aggression against the ruling powers, and consequently in continual danger of losing his liberty, fortune, or life, he defended with the utmost imperturbability his rights as an Englishman, or rather as a freeman, and early acquired the nickname of *Free-born John*. His first attempt at legal resistance was made against his master, the merchant-tailor; he obtained satisfaction, and having, as it appears, been released from his indentures, he now followed no other vocation than that to which he believed he had been specially called by the voice of the Lord. He was habitually connected with the Puritans; their dogmatic principles, their enthusiasm, obstinacy, and courage, and the persecution to which they were subjected, all conspired to induce Lilburne to become one of their body, in which he soon attained considerable eminence. In a time of peril, inspiration belongs to fearlessness. Lilburne was recognised as one of the interpreters of the Lord's will. While still an apprentice, he was consulted with regard to the most dangerous undertakings, and he gladly made use of his liberty to engage personally in them. The publication of prohibited books was, at that time, almost the only danger to which the enemies of episcopacy were free to expose themselves, and this danger was quite sufficient to tempt their enthusiasm. Lilburne crossed over into Holland, where he caused an edition to be printed of the works of Prynne and Bastwick, two celebrated Presbyterians of the time. He then returned to circulate them in England. At the beginning of 1638, before he was twenty years of age, he incurred the notice of the Star Chamber. Before this tribunal he began to display that intractability of character, and fanatical and sneering spirit of argument which, during the whole of Lilburne's life, carried him through the severest

trials, and more than once compelled the forms of justice to yield before the obstinacy of an individual man.

At his examination by Mr. Cockshey, the Attorney-General's clerk, Lilburne at first amused himself with disconcerting his interrogator by putting on an appearance of extreme simplicity, and feigning not to understand the purport of the questions asked him. "Where were you in Holland?" demanded Mr. Cockshey. "At Rotterdam." "And from thence you went to Amsterdam?" "Yes, I was at Amsterdam." "What books did you see in Holland?" "Great store of books; for in every bookseller's shop as I came in there were great store of books." "I know that; but I ask you if you did see Dr. Bastwick's 'Answer to my Master's Information,' and a book called his 'Litany?'" "Yes, I saw them there; and if you please to go thither, you may buy an hundred of them at the bookseller's, if you have a mind to them." "Who printed all those books?" "I do not know." "Who was at the charges of printing them?" "Of that I am ignorant." "But did you not send over some of these books?" "I sent not any of them over." "Do you know one Hargust there?" "Yes, I did see such a man." "Where did you see him?" "I met with him one day, accidentally, at Amsterdam." "How oft did you see him there?" "Twice upon one day." "But did he not send over books?" "If he did, it is nothing to me, for his doings are unknown to me."

The conversation continued for some time in this manner, when Lilburne suddenly exclaimed, "Why do you ask me all these questions? These are nothing pertinent to my imprisonment, for I am not imprisoned for knowing and talking with such and such men, but for sending over books; and therefore I am not willing to answer you to any more of these questions, because I see you go about by this examination to ensnare me: for seeing the things for which I am imprisoned cannot be proved against me, you will get other matter out of my examination. . . . And this is all the answer that for the present I am willing to make; and if you ask me of any more things, I shall answer you with silence."

From that moment the examination was nothing more than a dispute between Lilburne and the chief clerk, who at length grew angry, and sent him before the Attorney-General

himself. When there, Lilburne refused to sign his examination, declared that he was made to say what he had never said, and was again remanded by the magistrate, who had completely failed to get anything out of him. Some days after, he was taken to the Star Chamber office, and required, according to custom, to enter his appearance. "I am but a young man," said Lilburne, "and a prisoner, and money is not very plentiful with me; therefore I will not part with any money upon such terms." Presently, an officer came to swear him on the Gospels, and said, "Pull off your glove and lay your hand upon the book." "What to do, sir?" said Lilburne. "You must swear," said he. "To what?" "That you shall make true answer to all things that are asked you." "Must I so, sir? But before I swear, I will know to what I must swear." "As soon as you have sworn, you shall, but not before." "Sir, I am but a young man, and do not well know what belongs to the nature of an oath, and therefore, before I swear, I will be better advised." "How old are you?" "About twenty years old." "You have received the Sacrament, have you not?" "Yes, that I have." "And you have heard the ministers deliver God's word, have you not?" "I have heard sermons." "Well, then, you know the Holy Evangelists?" "Yes, that I do: but, sir, though I have received the Sacrament, and have heard sermons, yet it doth not therefore follow that I am bound to take an oath, which I doubt of the lawfulness of." "Look you here," said he (and with that he opened the book), "we desire you to swear by no foreign thing, but to swear by the Holy Evangelists." "Sir, I do not doubt or question that; I question how lawful it is for me to swear to I do not know what." "But everybody takes this oath; and would you be wiser than all other men?" "It makes no matter to me what other men do; but before I swear, I will know better grounds and reasons than other men's practices, to convince me of the lawfulness of such an oath." "I am not to convince any man's conscience of the lawfulness of it, but only to offer and tender it: will you take it or no?" "Sir, I will be better advised first."*

He was sent back to prison, and, some days afterwards brought to the bar of the Star Chamber, to be tried both for his original offence and the new misdemeanours of which he

* The Christian Man's Trial, by John Lilburne, London, 1641.

had been guilty during the course of the proceedings. A similar discussion now began; the court were unable to extort the least submission either from Lilburne or from his fellow-prisoner, Wharton, an old printer, eighty-five years of age, who had already been imprisoned eight times for refusing to take the oath before the Star Chamber. Lilburne declared that he considered this oath to be contrary to the word of God; and old Wharton, who was allowed to explain his views in reference to the subject, inveighed with such violence against the bishops and the oaths required by them, that he was quickly silenced; "but," says Lilburne, "if they would have let him proceed, he would so have peppered the bishops as they were never in their lives in an open court of judicature." Wharton's speech, however, was not lost; on his return to prison he recited it to his gaoler, who, in consequence, kept Lilburne and himself in closer confinement. On leaving the bar, Lilburne said aloud to his judges, "My lords, I beseech God to bless your honours, and to discover and make known unto you the wickedness and cruelty of the prelates."

They were both condemned—Wharton, in consequence of his old age, to a fine of five hundred pounds, and the pillory only; Lilburne, to the additional penalty of a whipping. He underwent his punishment on the 18th of April, 1638, walking at a cart's tail through the streets of Westminster, whilst an executioner beat him with knotted cords. During its infliction, Lilburne either sang psalms, or moved the multitude to anger and commiseration by his harangues. Crowds followed the young martyr on his way, praising his fortitude, and admiring his courage. When he arrived at the place where his punishment concluded, ready to faint with pain and fatigue, a messenger from the Star Chamber entered the room into which he had retired, and offered to remit the punishment of the pillory if he would acknowledge his error. This was not the time to yield; Lilburne remarked that it was rather late to expect that he would succumb now that the advantages to be gained from submission were so much diminished, and reminded the messenger that he had refused under circumstances far more favourable. When his wounds were healed, he was taken to the pillory. "When I was upon it," says Lilburne, "I made obeisance to the lords, some of them (as I suppose) looking out at the Star Chamber window

towards me." Of all the Christian virtues, humility is not the one most easily practised by the man who believes himself specially endowed with heavenly graces; and to these celestial gifts Lilburne now added terrestrial glories. New sufferings awaited him to make still further trial of his constancy. The pillory was too low for him, and his bent position added greatly to the pain of his wounds. The sun darted its mid-day beams upon his head, and he was not permitted to shelter himself by any means from its heat. But utterly insensible to the tortures of his position, and animated by the sufferings he had undergone, Lilburne addressed the people, denounced to them the tyranny of the bishops and their agents, reproached them with their apathy, and urged them to throw off the yoke. In vain did his keepers attempt to compel him to silence; in vain did they threaten him with another whipping; nothing would do but they must gag him, and afterwards tie his hands, to prevent him from throwing among the people the pamphlets with which he had filled his pockets. His courage was more than equal to his sufferings; no sign of exhaustion betrayed a momentary weakness; but when the gag was removed, on his descent from the scaffold, he shouted forth, "Now I am more than a conqueror through him that hath loved me."

Lilburne had, in fact, become a saint; the enthusiastic homage which was henceforth rendered to him by the people of London, resisted and survived all the revolutions which, in the sequel, withdrew popular opinion far away from those channels in which it had flown at first. If, during the course of civil dissensions, Lilburne did not share equally in all the wishes of his fellow-citizens, he always struggled to remove their sufferings, and even when he would not acknowledge their allies, he continued to be the enemy of their oppressors.

He was taken back to prison, and confined for nearly two years and a half in a dungeon, chained both hand and foot. Here he exercised his indefatigable activity, sometimes in composing and conveying to his friends outside writings stamped with the spirit that possessed him, and sometimes in putting to the test the patience or brutality of his keepers. In one of his conflicts with them he lost two of his fingers. Once he set fire to his person at the risk of being burned himself, and the cries of the other prisoners obtained the removal of Lilburne from the neighbourhood, as their lives,

they said, were endangered by his violence. Either from natural malice, or from vengeance, or in the hope of subduing him, his gaolers increased to the utmost the rigours of his captivity; they frequently refused to give him the food which was brought for him by his friends; and Lilburne, in one of his numerous auto-biographical publications, declares that he should more than once have been in danger of dying of hunger, had it not been for the active and ingenious zeal of his friends in conveying to him, at great expense, sometimes by one means and sometimes by another, the aliment necessary for his subsistence.

At last, in November, 1640, the convocation of the Long Parliament restored him to liberty; he was the first of the prisoners of the Star Chamber whose liberation was ordered by the Parliament. It was not to be expected that these two years of imprisonment would have calmed the mind and matured the reason of a man twenty years of age. In May, 1641, Lilburne appeared at the head of the tumults raised against the life of the Earl of Strafford; and, at a time when popular violence could go very far indeed without exhausting the patience of the Parliament, he managed to get himself arrested and brought to the bar of the House of Lords; it is true, he was acquitted, and, by a natural coincidence, the House of Commons voted him compensation for what he had suffered from the Star Chamber.

A more regular kind of warfare soon summoned to the standard of the Parliament all men of Lilburne's opinions. He entered the Earl of Essex's army as a volunteer; and on the 23rd October, 1642, he fought valiantly at Edgehill with the rank of a captain of infantry. Being made prisoner at Brentford on the 15th of November following, he was taken to Oxford, where Charles I. had established his head-quarters, and was brought before a council of war to be tried for high treason. "He behaved himself," says Clarendon, "with so great impudence, in extolling the power of the Parliament, that it was manifest he had an ambition to have been made a martyr for that cause."* But the Parliament interfered and declared that the lives of the prisoners whom they had in their hands should answer for Lilburne's safety. His trial was, therefore, suspended, and he soon found means to escape by bribing his gaoler. Such is, at all events, Clarendon's account, and he

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii., p. 671.

adds that, during Lilburne's imprisonment, his friends supplied him abundantly with all the money he required. Lilburne, however, informs us that he was exchanged by the Parliament, "in a very honourable manner, and far above his rank." However this may be, each account attests his importance at this period—an importance which ever attaches to the leaders of the multitude at the outset of a revolution. On his return to the Parliament quarters, "he was received," says Clarendon, "with public joy, as a champion that had defied the king in his own court."* He was offered an appointment for his wife worth nearly a thousand pounds yearly; but he refused it, to the great regret of Mrs. Lilburne, whom he told "that he must fight though it were for eightpence a day, till he saw the liberties and peace of England settled, rather than set himself down in a rich place for his own advantage, in the midst of so many grand distractions of his native country."† Indeed, it is difficult to doubt that Lilburne might not, at this period, have made his fortune if he had pleased, and had followed the example of many other less conspicuous and popular than himself; but he was animated by the disinterestedness as well as the confidence of a believer, and it would be difficult to determine whether he trusted most firmly in God, or in himself. "For about these ten years," he says, "an all-merciful God hath enabled me to carry my life in my hands, and to have it always in readiness to lay it down in a quarter of an hour's warning, knowing that he has in store for me a mansion of eternal glory."‡ And, on all occasions, fearless for his personal safety, he had no more doubt of his knowledge than of his salvation, and never troubled himself about the dangers or miseries to which he might be exposed. He might have rested securely upon the zeal of his friends, the sectaries, who never deserted him; but it was because Lilburne never thought to secure their help beforehand that his party never failed to be ready to assist him.

Divisions, however, began to arise in the army; the Earl of Essex became the leader of the Presbyterian party, which was more hateful to men of Lilburne's opinions than the court party had ever been. In 1643, he took refuge in the

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iii., p. 671.
† Biographia Britannica, vol. v., p. 2940, note *k*.
‡ The Oppressed Man's Oppressions, p. 27.

army of the Earl of Manchester, which had been formed to serve as a nucleus for that new revolutionary party which was destined soon to rise on the ruins of the old one, and of which Cromwell was already the soul. Lilburne was too valuable an instrument to be neglected. Cromwell found no difficulty in gaining him over, for men of far greater ability had yielded to his seductive influence. Having made up his mind to ruin Colonel King, a man whom he suspected, but could not get rid of, he appointed Lilburne the major of his regiment, and directed him to watch his colonel's conduct, and report to head-quarters all that appeared injurious to the good of the commonwealth, that justice might be done. Lilburne did not fail to discharge the invidious mission which Cromwell had entrusted to him, and his colonel soon furnished him with ample cause for complaint. The major kept his eyes and ears open, and carefully collected facts prejudicial to the colonel, against whom he had a private grudge, because he had nearly caused his death or capture at the siege of Newark. At length he drew up his accusation, hastened to lay it before Cromwell, and demanded a court-martial. This was promised, but delayed from day to day; meanwhile, Colonel King was cashiered and deprived of all his employments. Cromwell required nothing further, but Lilburne would not be satisfied without a trial; he reiterated his demand for a court-martial, and not being able to obtain a satisfactory answer, he brought his accusation before the House of Commons, where he experienced a similar failure, for the trial was refused.

He met with a similar defeat in the case of the Earl of Manchester, against whom he had promised Cromwell that he would prefer an accusation, which Cromwell had abandoned when Manchester was set aside by the new organisation of the army, and had ceased to be obnoxious. These disappointments, his declared aversion to the Covenant, which it was necessary for him to subscribe in order to retain his commission, and the turbulent restlessness of his character, made Lilburne resolve to abandon a career in which his opinion and personal will could not be his sole law. His services had raised him to the rank of lieutenant-colonel; his bravery had gained him much notice at Marston Moor; an advantageous position was offered him in 1645, on the new organisation of the army; but he refused all these chances of promotion, and finding that he was never sufficient master of his blows un-

less he fought alone and on his own account, he exchanged the sword for the pen, and warfare for polemics.

From this moment he was incessant in his attacks of everything that excited his censure or displeasure; government measures, party proceedings, individuals' actions, all fell under his jurisdiction. To these general interests were soon added others of a more personal nature; for his indiscriminate attacks and opposition gained for him enemies and embarrassments in all quarters. He had been applied to for the accounts of his administration of the different military offices he had held; these he had no objection to supply, as he claimed that large arrears were due to him from the State. The Committee of Accounts desired him to swear to the truth of his statement. Lilburne refused to do so; the accounts were not produced, and the committee prosecuted him as being accountable to the State for the sum of two thousand pounds. Lilburne, on his side, presented a petition to the House of Lords, for the recovery of an equal sum, which had been voted to him as compensation for his imprisonment by the Star Chamber. Colonel King endeavoured to recover a similar amount of damages from Lilburne, because he had called him a traitor; and Lilburne answered this charge by accusing the colonel of treason before the House of Commons. At the same time he was engaged in a suit with Prynne, his former associate, and now chairman of the Committee of Accounts, who had become Lilburne's inveterate enemy since the government had fallen into the hands of the Presbyterians. He was also busily pursuing his complaints against Cromwell and the Earl of Manchester, the Speaker of the House of Lords; and conducting an accusation against Lenthall, the Speaker of the House of Commons. He had engaged in this last quarrel in the capacity of an amateur.

Such occupations as these were not devoid of danger. Lilburne, when arrested at the suit of Colonel King, gave bail, but was summoned before the House of Lords for his attacks upon the Earl of Manchester. When brought to the bar of the Lords he refused to recognise their jurisdiction; appeared before them with his hat on his head, would not kneel down, and stopped up his ears whilst his accusation was being read. He was reminded that he had not always been so refractory, and that in 1641, when prosecuted before that same assembly, in connexion with the Strafford tumults, he had

not hesitated to defend himself. "When I was a child," answered Lilburne, "I spake as a child, and acted as a child; but as soon as I became a man, I put away childish things."

This was not considered a sufficient excuse; he was condemned to pay a fine, and in default, was committed to Newgate, whence he was soon after transferred to the Tower, and denied the use of pens and ink. He, however, contrived some means to write, and almost every day there appeared a new pamphlet of his, such as "The Anatomy of the Lords' Tyranny," "The Just Man's Justification," "The Oppressed Man's Oppression," "The Resolved Man's Resolution," &c. This last title is so curious a specimen of the spirit of the times and the spirit of Lilburne, that we are induced to quote it entire:—"The Resolved Man's Resolution to maintain with the last drop of his heart's blood his civil liberties and freedoms, granted unto him by the good, just, and honest laws of England—his native country; and never to sit still so long as he has a tongue to speak, or a hand to write, till he hath either necessitated his adversaries, the House of Lords, and their arbitrary assistants in the House of Commons, either to do him justice and right, by delivering him from his cruel and illegal imprisonment, and holding out unto him legal and ample reparation for all his unjust sufferings, or else send him to Tyburn, of which he is not afraid; and doubteth not, if they do it, but at and by his death to do them, Samson-like, more mischief at his death than he did them all his life. All which is expressed and declared in the following epistle, written by Lieutenant-Colonel John Lilburne, prerogative prisoner in the Tower of London, to a true friend of his, a citizen thereof; April, 1647."

To that singularity of style, which characterised his age and sect, Lilburne added peculiarities of his own, and in him the tone of a martyr combined with that of a bully. He was continually offering his life as a sacrifice, and seemed disappointed at his offer being rejected; and a vain-glorious feeling of his own superiority may always be discerned in his complaints against the iniquity of his adversaries. One of his pamphlets against the Lords "will live," he says, "when I am dead." He is continually speaking of what he has written as "excellent, and to the purpose." Boasting appeared to be his prerogative; he could no more refrain from praising himself, it was said, than "from eating when he was

hungry:" and probably he would have had less difficulty in passing a day without eating than without disputing. "If there were none living but himself," said his friend Henry Martyn, "John would be against Lilburne, and Lilburne against John." In addition to the charms of martyrdom, persecution offered him the attractions of a quarrel.

If it be possible for an isolated and disarmed individual to find delight in disturbing powerful adversaries, Lilburne's cup of enjoyment was full to overflowing. Whether free or in chains, he was equally obnoxious to his enemies, and his threat to arm the people on his behalf against those who refused to do him justice was no rhodomontade. He had not been many days in prison, before petitions signed by 8000 or 10,000 persons were presented to Parliament, demanding the release of this friend of the people. The women especially, headed by Lilburne's wife—a worthy companion of his exploits and afflictions—made the environs of Westminster resound with their cries in favour of the young champion of liberty. They were forced to depart unanswered; but they returned again and again, and were at last sent back to "wash their dishes;" but in times of trouble, when petitions easily changed into seditions, careful watch was kept against those which claimed Lilburne's liberation.

The interference of the people did not succeed in effecting the emancipation of their champion; and Lilburne thereupon endeavoured to obtain the more powerful intervention of the army. He addressed himself to the popular leaders of those regiments which were known under the name of *agitators;* their cause was his own; from the confinement of his dungeon he fomented their rebellion and associated himself in their projects, one of which was, it is said, to attempt the overthrow of Cromwell. We are not, however, authorised in believing that this idea, though probably entertained by some minds, ever assumed any definite form. Cromwell had already become, in reference to the agitators, a sort of talisman with which the fate of their cause was indissolubly connected. If they were desirous to vanquish him, it was that they alone might possess him. Lilburne wrote a threatening letter to Cromwell, which he signed thus: "John Lilburne, that neither loves baseness, nor fears greatness." Cromwell was then treating with the king. His position with regard to the agitators and the republican populace was not strong enough

to enable him to disregard such an adversary as Lilburne. He went to see him in his prison, once more took the pains of deceiving him by assurances and promises, and gave him to understand how greatly the commonwealth might be injured at that moment by an attack upon himself. Several of Lilburne's friends took the same tone, and he therefore contented himself with asking for his liberty, promising to sell his goods and leave the kingdom, where it had become impossible for him to reside; "for," he said, "either I must follow my trade, a clothier, which here I cannot do without taking oaths which I cannot take; or else I must live in the country, and there I neither can nor would pay tithes."

Meanwhile the star of Cromwell had for a moment waned. In spite of the results of the meeting at Ware, on the 15th of November, 1647, the popular party in the army had gained the ascendancy over the adherents of the leaders, and the reaction had begun to be felt in the House of Commons. Lilburne received permission from the House to leave the Tower during the day without his gaoler, on condition of his returning thither in the evening; but soon a more active spirit of sedition, diffused among the inferior officers, and plans for petitioning the Parliament to bring its protracted session to an end, revealed the presence of the new ferment into which society had been thrown. The Lords complained of Lilburne's liberty, and demanded the cause of his being at large. They were told that the House of Commons had given orders to that effect; and they accordingly requested the Lower House to rescind their order, that a rupture might be avoided. After lengthy debates the Commons yielded. Lilburne, when brought to the bar, answered his accusers by bringing a counter-accusation of high treason against Cromwell and Ireton. He was again confined in the Tower, and sent for trial to the court of King's Bench. He wrote, pleaded, and petitioned against this treatment. Meanwhile the Scotch entered England; Cromwell was forced, as it were, to fly to the army, and left the field open to his enemies at London. Whether because Lilburne's implacable hostility to him was a recommendation of the untractable Leveller, whether it was out of esteem for his character and pity for his sufferings, whether it was from a desire to conciliate the favour of the people, or simply to put an end to that arbitrary government of which they had themselves

been victims,—the Presbyterians, when thus temporarily restored to power, took a favourable view of his case; and Maynard, one of the eleven members who were restored to their seats, obtained his liberation. The first use which Lilburne made of his freedom was to become reconciled with Cromwell; for the danger of his cause led him to unite with his oppressor against his liberators, the Presbyterians. He also declared himself against any personal treaty with the king. But, when the army had regained its authority, Lilburne opposed the illegal form of the trial of Charles I. He demanded that the establishment of a system of regular government should precede a process which would only be the triumph of the law. The leaders of the army desired the death of Charles that they might quietly enjoy their power; Lilburne desired his judgment only as a striking proof that there was an equal law for all; and he, therefore, wished that he might be tried before an ordinary tribunal. The erection of a special court appeared to him an infraction of the rights of the accused person, and an insult to the nation, inasmuch as it indicated that a difference still existed between a criminal king and a criminal subject.

It was at this time that the difference between the Independents and the Levellers, between those who coveted empire and those who desired equality, became clearly marked. Vainly did they attempt a reconciliation at various conferences, which were incessantly interrupted, but frequently resumed, notwithstanding the bitterness which had caused their interruption; and which, after most violent debates, often protracted through the whole of the night, only led to an irremediable rupture. When on the point of coming to blows, the two parties separated, and Lilburne, "taking leave of them," as he said, "for a pack of dissembling, juggling knaves," declared his resolution to abstain from "meddling and making any more with so perfidious a generation of men as the great ones of the army were, but especially the cunningest of Machiavellians, Commissary Henry Ireton."

He contented himself at first, however, with printing some of those maxims of government, the adoption of which he had wished to secure, under the title of an "Agreement with the People;" and having probably been abandoned by most of his adherents, who had either been frightened or persuaded to desert him, he temporarily suspended a struggle in which

he had never received assistance from any but the enemies of his cause—the Presbyterians and the Cavaliers. He removed from London to take steps for the recovery of the sum which had been assigned to him as damages and interest, and did not return until after the death of the king, one of whose judges he had refused to be. On his return in February, 1649, he found the High Court occupied with the trial of Lord Capel, Lord Goring, and their companions. He protested against this new piece of illegality, and being particularly touched by Lord Capel's intrepidity, he acted vigorously on their behalf, offering them his advice and the assistance of his audacious practice in the art of resisting judges; but they did not think it right to accept his aid.

The army was now the supreme authority, and the remnant of the Long Parliament, of which it made use as a phantom of representative government, consoled itself, under the name of a Republic, with the subjugation of liberty. Where liberty has ceased to exist, license only has free course; and it is possible to escape oppression by anarchy alone. Anarchy and oppression now contested, or rather shared, the possession of England; beside a government of the most arbitrary and violent nature, which forcibly crushed its various enemies in turn, the most impracticable principles of liberty were sustained by armed Levellers of all sorts, scattered throughout the country, and raising upon the ruins of legal institutions the standard of natural law, explained in a hundred different ways, according to the turn of mind of the inspired guide around whom the would-be legislators of the country or district had gathered. It is impossible to call Lilburne the leader of a party; the Levellers never were a real party, acting conjointly and united together by positive bonds. They were nothing but the spontaneous result of a feeling which was very generally entertained in England at this period. They arose on every side by a species of movement analagous to that process of nature which, at the spring of the year, produces simultaneously, from a thousand separate germs, a thousand similar or distinct plants. Lilburne was the representative and organ of whatever was most honest, least unreasonable, and most consistent in the design and desire of this party. In spite of the inflexibility of his theories, the twelve years which he had passed in the midst of a revolution had introduced some just and practical ideas

into his head. Being always exposed, moreover, to the endurance of very positive evils from a very oppressive tyranny, he occupied himself less in establishing chimeras than in combating realities. Every one of his new plans of government was based upon a violent attack on the established authorities; and his personal knowledge of the political leaders of the day, their intrigues, malversations, and perfidies, was an arsenal from whence he showered down upon them, with strange energy, all the darts of public indignation.

Having learned that some threats had been uttered against him in the council of war at Whitehall, he as usual endeavoured to ward off the danger by braving it. On the 22nd of February, 1649, he published a pamphlet, entitled "England's new Chains discovered;" and on the 26th, accompanied by Walwin, Prince, and Overton, three other Levellers, he laid before Parliament a new plan of government, in opposition to that which the army had prepared. Already, on the publication of the first pamphlet by these four men, orders had been given for their arrest; and Lilburne, in his speech at the bar of the House, declared that if they presented themselves alone, and without bringing in support of their opinion those thousands of signatures which usually accompanied them, it was because they had been informed that orders had been issued for their arrest, two days before, by men who had no legal power over them, and into whose hands they feared, by longer delay, to fall. Lilburne added, on behalf of his friends and himself, that, in case of danger, they regretted that they had not more than one life to sacrifice in support of "so gallant a piece."

They were dismissed unanswered; but either from fear or moderation on the part of their enemies, or address on their own part, the order for their arrest was not carried into effect. Lilburne profited by this respite to publish the second part of "England's new Chains discovered," in which he reprinted his plan of government, adding, that as no answer had been given to his proposition, he hoped that now a petition, supported by several thousand signatures, would help him to obtain "an effectual answer." He was hereupon committed to the Tower with his associates, and a disavowal of his last work was presented to the Parliament, in the name of the Anabaptist congregations of London. More spontaneous petitions, however, rapidly multiplied in his favour.

One was sent in with ten thousand signatures; and a multitude of women drew up another, characterised by those lively impressions which distinguish their sex. They declared their conviction that Lilburne and his companions in misfortune were to be taken from the Tower in the middle of the night, and shot at Whitehall; and they assured the Parliament that to condemn Lilburne's book would be to enslave all the people, since not a single conversation took place on public affairs which did not discuss the contents of the pamphlet; and that, therefore, all liberty of speech would be destroyed, which was the greatest of all servitudes. The petitioners were either sent back without any answer, or repulsed with severe reprimands; but they returned to the charge under a new form, and among the grievances alleged by the leaders of the Levellers, who sprang up on all sides, was the "barbarous and unlawful" imprisonment of Lilburne and his friends.

The same spirit displayed itself in the army. A revolt broke out; five cavalry soldiers were condemned to death; four were pardoned, but notwithstanding the writings of Lilburne and the efforts of his partisans, the fifth, named Lockier, was shot on the 7th of April, 1649. His comrades celebrated his funeral with the greatest pomp; a hundred horse soldiers opened the procession, followed by their horses, caparisoned in black; six trumpeters played a dead march; the coffin, surmounted by the dead man's sword and some branches of rosemary dipped in blood, was followed by an innumerable crowd, marching in order, and wearing black and green cockades; a number of women closed the procession; and several thousand citizens of a higher class, who had not thought it proper to follow the funeral through the streets of London, awaited its arrival at the burial-ground.

In the midst of this active hostility, the Parliament, becoming agitated in its terror and impotence, passed laws against the offences which menaced it on every side. An act was proposed on the 1st of May, 1649, to declare every person guilty of treason who should accuse the Parliament or the Council of State of usurpation, or who should attempt to change the existing form of government, or any soldier who should plot the death of his general or lieutenant-general,*

* This clause, though originally proposed, was abandoned and omitted from the bill adopted on the 14th of May.

or any person who should kill a member of Parliament or a judge while in the exercise of his functions.

At the same time Lilburne issued a new pamphlet from his confinement in the Tower, presenting a summary of the wishes of the people in reference to the changes to be introduced into the existing form of government. This summary was published under the name of the "Agreement of the People," and contains thirty propositions or articles, the most important of which are as follows:—

"1. The supreme authority of this nation to be a representative of four hundred.

"2. That two hundred be a House, and the major voice concluding to the nation.

"3. All public officers to be capable of subjection; those of salary not to be members.

"4. No members of one representative to be chosen of the next.

"5. This Parliament to end the first Wednesday in August, 1649.

"6. If this omit to order it, that the people proceed to elections.

"10. They not to make laws to compel in matters of religion.

"11. None to be compelled to fight by sea or land against his conscience.

"14. Not to give judgment against any, where no law was provided before.

"15. Not to depend longer upon the incertain inclination of Parliament.

"16. None to be punished for refusing to answer against themselves.

"20. Men's persons not to be imprisoned for debt, nor their estates free.

"21. Men's lives not to be taken away, but for murder and the like.

"22. Men upon trials for life, liberty, &c., to have witnesses heard.

"24. Every parish to choose their own minister, and to force none to pay.

"25. Conviction for life, liberty, &c., to be by twelve neighbours sworn.

"26. None to be exempted from offices for his religion only.

"27. The people in all counties to choose all their public officers.

"30. This agreement not to be nulled, no estates levelled, nor all things common."

The last two clauses of the thirtieth article are to be found only in Whitelocke's Memorials.*

To this formal attack upon an order of things which claimed to be considered a regular government, were soon added more violent onslaughts upon the heads of that government, and upon Cromwell in particular. Fresh severities followed these fresh aggressions. The Parliament ordered that the prisoners should be more closely confined, and deprived of all communication with each other. They were refused the pecuniary assistance frequently granted to captives; and the Lieutenant of the Tower was directed to provide them with sufficient sustenance. For three days Lilburne was put upon half rations. It was, however, impossible long to persist in these extreme measures; the anger and power of the Levellers became daily more threatening; and the prisoners were allowed twenty shillings a week. But at this time, on the 14th of May, 1649, the new act was passed, specifying cases of treason; and on the same day Lilburne was accused of high treason, and his property sequestrated.

The quarrel was a deadly one; men who had conquered power, and preserved it sword in hand, were indignant at finding that their strength was impotent against libels. The restrictions upon the liberty of the press, which were incessantly renewed, and as continually nullified by their rejection by public opinion, only presented an obstacle easily eluded or set at nought. The "Agreement of the People" appeared with the approbation of the censor, which was probably forged; and the censor, Gilbert Mabbott, requested and obtained his dismissal from the office, on the 22nd of May, 1649, upon these grounds: "First, because many thousands of scandalous and malignant pamphlets had been published with his name thereunto, though he never saw them; and also because it was lawful, in his judgment, to print any book, sheet, &c., without licensing, so as the authors and printers do subscribe their true names thereunto, that so they may be liable to

* Whitelocke's Memorials, pp. 399-400.

answer the contents thereof; and if they offend therein, then to be punished by such laws as are, or shall be, for those cases provided."* It was necessary to check, by some striking example, an inundation which could not be restrained by so feeble a dike as the censorship; and by making an example of Lilburne, the most formidable source of the evil would be dried up. But such a proceeding would be attended with considerable danger. Six months were spent in consultations and deliberations upon the best method of attaining the desired end; during this period the war of pamphlets raged as violently as ever, and Lilburne was incessant in his publications. Indeed, pamphlets did not satisfy him; he offered, and begged to begin a war of public discussion. "Let the House of Commons," he says, in a letter to Cornelius Holland, one of the members of the Council of State, "choose two men, and let me choose other two, and let these four, if they cannot agree, fix on a fifth. Let the debate be public, and let me have free leave to speak for myself: and if my innocency be not thus established, I will forfeit and lose all I have, and my life to boot. If this proposition is not accepted within the next five days, I shall feel myself free to do what I can in anatomising what I know publicly or privately of you and your associates."†

No answer was returned to this letter of Lilburne's, but agents were sent to seize a new pamphlet which he had just had printed. His remonstrances, however, had such an effect upon the agents, that, as Whitelocke informs us, he persuaded them "to look to their own liberties, and let the books alone."‡ These illegal means were not persisted in, and Lilburne soon had to defend himself against Thomas May, who accused him of complicity with Prince Charles Stuart, afterwards Charles II.

It was at last determined that he should be tried by a special commission of Oyer and Terminer, composed of forty persons; and the jury was chosen with great care that they might give the desired verdict. Vainly did Lilburne's wife, and his brother, Colonel Robert Lilburne, endeavour to obtain a suspension of his trial. They presented a petition, promising that he should leave England with his family, provided the government would pay him what they owed him;

* Biographia Britannica, vol. v., p. 2955.
† Godwin's History of the Commonwealth, vol. iii., p. 166.
‡ Whitelocke's Memorials, p. 421.

but, on the same day (October 22nd, 1649), Lilburne published a pamphlet, in which he added to their proposal another condition, "that all such as were willing to transport themselves with him to the West Indies, should be allowed that liberty, and also have all their demands of monies in arrear from the State paid to them; and further, that such as were poor, and willing to attend him, should have some reasonable allowance of money for that end;"* because, he said, as it was their right to live and claim subsistence in England, if, for the sake of peace, they consented to banish themselves, it was only fair that they should be supplied with the means of gaining a livelihood elsewhere. Another petition, in the form of a remonstrance, was presented, signed as usual by large numbers of his partisans. His brother Robert again attempted to obtain a delay of the trial, "till he should be able to convince him of his mistakes, or, if not, prevail with him to leave the kingdom." At length, overcome by the despair of his wife, whose courage and tenderness deserved all his affection, Lilburne himself consented to request a delay. But the republican party had determined to decide the conflict; and no delay could be obtained. The trial began at Guildhall on the 24th of October, 1649. It lasted for three days, during which Lilburne made head against his judges, continually interrupting them, being put to silence, resuming his remarks, and finally overcoming all obstacles by dint of obstinacy; and, using the advantage he had gained to point out, at every step, the illegality, usurpations, and tyranny of the government by which he was oppressed. At the end of the trial, he turned suddenly towards the jury, and said:

"Gentlemen of the jury, you are my sole judges, the keepers of my life, at whose hands the Lord will require my blood. And therefore I desire you to know your power, and consider your duty, both to God, to me, to your own selves, and to your country; and the gracious assisting spirit and presence of the Lord God omnipotent, the governor of heaven and earth, and all things therein contained, go along with you, give counsel and direct you, to do that which is just and for his glory!"

"Amen! amen!" cried the spectators with one voice. The judges looked at each other with some uneasiness, and requested Major-General Skippon to send for three more

* Biographia Britannica, vol. v., p. 2957.

companies of foot soldiers. The Attorney-General and the Lord Chief Justice, who presided in the court, renewed their endeavours to convince the jury that both justice and necessity required the condemnation of the prisoner. After three hours' deliberation, the clerk of the court addressed the jury:

"Gentlemen of the jury, are you agreed of your verdict?"

"Yes."

"Look upon the prisoner; is he guilty of the treasons charged upon him, or any of them, or not guilty?"

"Not guilty of all of them."

"Nor of all the treasons, or any of them that are laid to his charge?"

"Not of all, nor of any one of them."

At these words, Guildhall resounded "with such a loud and unanimous shout, as is believed was never heard before." It lasted for half an hour, during which the judges sat pale and trembling, exposed to this wild outburst of popular satisfaction. The prisoner stood calmly at the bar, and it was observed that he appeared rather less haughty and animated than before. When the tumult had subsided, the clerk resumed:

"Gentlemen of the jury, hearken to your verdict; the court has heard it: you say that John Lilburne is not guilty of all the treasons laid unto his charge, nor of any one of them; and so you say all?"

"Yes, we do so."*

Lilburne was taken back to the Tower, followed by the acclamations of the multitude; and, during the whole of the night, bonfires were lighted in the streets. An attempt was made to detain him in prison; but, about a fortnight afterwards, on the 8th of November, 1649, the discontent of the people, and the efforts of the friends of the prisoner, amongst others, of Henry Martyn and Ludlow, obtained his liberation.†

Lilburne was no sooner at liberty, than he attempted to obtain from Sir Arthur Haslerig, the chairman of the Committee of Sequestrations, the money which was due to him

* State Trials, vol. ii., pp. 77-79.

† In honour of this celebrated trial, Lilburne's friends had a medal struck, on one side of which he was represented standing at the bar, with this inscription: "John Lilburne, saved by the power of the Lord and the integrity of his jury, who are judge of law as well as fact." On the reverse were the names of the jury. —(Biographia Britannica, vol. x., p. 2958.)

from the State. Finding some difficulties interposed by that gentleman, he one day met Sir Arthur's clerk in Westminster, and desired him, in the presence of witnesses, as he loved his master's life and welfare, to tell him that he, John Lilburne, wore a good dagger by his right side, and a good rapier by his left; and if, within eight days, he did not send him all his money, or give him some rational satisfaction, Sir Arthur had better look to himself. "And," he added, "if he gets me committed to prison, and thereby thinks to disenable me to deal with him, he will be very much mistaken; for thereby the hand would only be changed."

The money was forthcoming on the appointed day; but Lilburne was not satisfied. Unhappily for Sir Arthur Haslerig, one of the numerous malversations by which he had singularly augmented his private fortune, had fallen upon George Lilburne, John's uncle. John zealously took up his uncle's cause, collected witnesses, published pamphlets,* presented petitions: Sir Arthur's actions were brought to light, probably with that characteristic exaggeration which Lilburne employed, even when it was least necessary. The issue of the matter, in the opinion of the Parliament, could not be doubtful; and the animosity it excited was so violent, that when Lilburne, shortly after his acquittal, was elected a member of the common council of the city of London, the Parliament annulled the election;† a person named Chetwynd, who had been active on Lilburne's behalf, was sent to prison, and deprived of his rights as a member of the corporation; and several others were subjected to prosecution on the same account. On the 15th of January, 1652, the accusation against Sir Arthur Haslerig was declared calumnious; Lilburne was condemned to pay a fine of seven thousand pounds, and banished from the kingdom under pain of death. The champion of liberty had become troublesome for more reasons than one. Always active and ardent in his opposition to the existing despotism, Lilburne had begun to seek hopes for his favourite system among the Royalists, with whom arrangements were easily made; and he had frequently declared in public that, if a master were indispensable, he would rather serve Prince Charles than any other, provided that a treaty could be made with him upon the basis of the "Agreement

* In August, 1651.

† On the 26th of December, 1649.

of the People." Neither the Royalists nor the Levellers, who were more vigorously repressed by Cromwell in the army than by Parliament in the nation, were in a condition to offer any effectual resistance to the rapid increase of the new power; but this power was glad to remove out of the way a leader who was ever ready to foment discontent; and by one of those tricks which were so largely employed in Cromwell's policy, the Long Parliament, whose destruction he was meditating, was secretly urged by him to decree the banishment of Lilburne, with whom he had just become reconciled. Such is at least the fact attested in a letter which the undaunted Leveller wrote to Cromwell from the place of his exile, and in which he declares himself "as much honest John Lilburne as ever I was in my life, that neither loves flattery nor fears greatness or threatenings."*

However it may be, Lilburne then considered the Long Parliament to be his real enemy. He retired to Holland, and the ardour of his hostility led him, it is said, to enter into the closest intimacy with several Royalists, proscribed like himself. He lived familiarly at Amsterdam with the Duke of Buckingham, Sir John Colepepper, Sir Ralph Hopton, and Bishop Bramhall, and even, according to certain reports, offered to rid them in six months of Cromwell, the Council of State, and the Parliament, if they would place ten thousand pounds at his disposal. But the men who denounced Lilburne's plots were Cromwell's spies. In 1653, as soon as the exiled Leveller heard of the expulsion of the Long Parliament, he wrote a respectful letter to Cromwell to obtain permission to return to England. Not having received an answer, he returned without permission, about the middle of June, 1653. He did not find more liberty in his native country than had been allowed him by the Parliamentary Republic; the arbitrary exercise of power had only passed into stronger hands. Lilburne was arrested soon after his arrival, and sentenced to be tried for having broken his banishment. "Free-born John," says a letter of this period, "has been sent to the Old Bailey assizes, and I think he will soon be hung."

Lilburne was not a man to allow himself to be hanged so easily. To ensure his condemnation, all those precautions had been taken which could be invented by the subtle and shameless dexterity of the servants of a powerful tyranny.

* Biographia Britannica, vol. v., p. 2960.

The trial was to be hurried through as quickly as possible; it commenced at the time when all the most celebrated lawyers, who might otherwise have aided Lilburne by their advice, had left London for their various circuits through the counties. The prisoner was refused a copy of his indictment, and his accusers would not read publicly the act of Parliament which had banished him, and upon which his indictment was founded. To give the jury an unfavourable impression of the case, the reports of the agents who had denounced his connexion with the Royalists in Holland were published. Lilburne struggled, with indomitable energy, against all these premeditated obstacles. Before their departure, he succeeded in procuring the written advice of two celebrated advocates, one of whom was the learned Presbyterian Maynard. He compelled the court to give him a copy of the indictment, and to promise that the act ordaining his banishment should be publicly read. He opposed obstinacy to obstinacy, and argument to argument. The Attorney-General Prideaux, who had very irregularly taken his seat among the judges, was very vehement against him. Lilburne immediately called to him to come down from his seat with that contemptuous energy which disturbs and weakens the boldest authority. And when the court was inflexible, when all Lilburne's efforts failed to obtain what he demanded, he cried out, in passionate despair, "My Lord, rob me not of my birthright, the benefit of the law, which again and again I demand as my right and inheritance. And, my Lord, if you will be so audacious and unjust in the face of this great auditory of people, to deny me, and rob me of all the rules of justice and right, and will forcibly stop my mouth, and not suffer me freely to speak for my life according to law, I will cry out and appeal to the people that hear me this day, how that my Lord Mayor, and this court, by violence rob me of my birthright by law, and will not suffer me to speak for my life."

The audience were greatly moved by these words; Lilburne's relatives and friends, including his aged father and many brave soldiers who had been his companions in arms, surrounded him continually, and lent him their support whenever he required it. The judges, in their anger, displayed their anxiety and displeasure; the accuser spoke in a low stuttering tone; and fresh reinforcements of guards were sent for. The trial, with all its incidents, lasted from the 13th o

July to the 20th of August, 1653. At the last moment, Lilburne thus addressed the jury: "The act whereupon I am indicted, is a lie and a falsehood; an act that hath no reason in it, no law for it; it was done as Pharaoh did, resolved upon the question that all the male children should be murdered. Since the king's head was cut off, they could not make an act of Parliament. By the same law they voted me to death, they might vote any of you honest jurymen. And I charge you to consider, whether if I die on the Monday, the Parliament on Tuesday may not pass such a sentence against every one of you twelve, and upon your wives and children, and all your relations; and then upon the rest of this city, and then upon the whole county of Middlesex, and then upon Hertfordshire, and so by degrees there be no people to inhabit England but themselves."

Popular sympathy, and respect for the ancient laws of the land, overcame the efforts of all the Parliamentary and military leaders of the revolution; Lilburne was a second time acquitted by his jury.

Three days afterwards, on the 23rd of August, 1653, by order of the Barebones Parliament, the Council of State sent for the jury, and required them, with threat, to explain why they had pronounced such an acquittal. Seven of them formally refused to answer, saying that they were accountable for their verdict only to God and their conscience. Four alleged reasons for their vote, but maintained what they had done, and stood by their colleagues. Against this firmness on the part of obscure citizens, revolutionary tyranny could not venture to act; and they were allowed to return home. But Lilburne was not set at liberty. On the recommendation of Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who afterwards became the celebrated Earl of Shaftesbury, the Parliament directed the Council of State to take measures for preventing this mischievous Leveller from disturbing the peace of the nation any more. He was accordingly imprisoned in the island of Jersey. But there was no prison from which Lilburne could not make his voice heard, and no distance which it could not traverse. The report spread that he was making preparations for new and more violent attacks. Tired of combating a popularity which he could not vanquish, Cromwell attempted to neutralise its influence. He excelled in the art of effecting compromises with even his most implacable enemies; and, it is

said, that he ordered that a pension should be paid to Lilburne, under the form of an indemnity, equal to his full salary as a lieutenant-colonel. Lilburne, on his part, had begun to weary of a contest in which even success was useless. The negotiator of the treaty was his brother, Robert Lilburne, an officer of distinction, and one of those honest men whom military feeling had rendered a supporter and servant of Cromwell. John promised to live in quietness; and he was restored to liberty and his native country. He retired to Eltham, in Kent, and amongst the Quakers, the gentlest but most obstinate of sectaries, he passed the last four years of a life of which it is impossible to say whether it was abridged by his early fatigues or his subsequent tranquillity. He died on the 29th of August, 1657, still popular and powerless.* He was a man of chimerical mind, without original or deep views regarding general politics, and who would have been as restless and discontented under a good government as he was under a tyranny. But his heart was honest and sincere; and he was gifted, even to heroism, in the practical defence of his rights, with that intelligent and indefatigable courage which constitutes the best and most necessary guarantee of free institutions.

Many years after his death, when the friends and the memory of Cromwell and of Lilburne, of the Protector and the Leveller, were subject to the same proscription, the people used frequently to sing:

John Lilburne is a stirring blade,
And understands the matter;
He neither will king, bishops, lords,
Nor th' House of Commons flatter.

John loves no power prerogatives,
But that derived from Sion;
As for the mitre and the crown,
Those two he looks awry on.†

This song was composed and sung for the first time in August, 1647, in the Tower of London, by Sir Thomas Wortley, at a banquet of Cavaliers and Levellers, who were fellow-prisoners by the order of the Long Parliament. The people are frequently unjust and ungrateful towards their living friends; but they are faithful to the memory of those that are dead.

* Biographia Britannica, vol. v., p. 2961.
† Neal's History of the Puritans, vol. iv., p. 18. (London, 1822.)

LORD THOMAS FAIRFAX.

[1611—1721.]

In every revolution, many ways for attaining power and glory are sure to present themselves. Some men attain high positions by preserving a right judgment in the midst of popular illusions, by their prudent foresight, or by their bold fertility of mind and strength of character; others are exalted to dignities precisely because they are deficient in these qualities, because they are simple and credulous, incapable of directing men and events, and capable only of serving them. The heroes of revolutions are to be found in two very dissimilar classes—ambitious politicians and sincere dupes.

Thomas Fairfax appears in the English revolution as a hero of the latter class. Born on the 17th of January, 1611, at Denton Manor, in the parish of Otley, Yorkshire, he received his education at St. John's College, Cambridge; and during the whole of his life he was distinguished, if not for great erudition, at least for considerable taste for literature, especially for the history and antiquities of his native country. But he early manifested a greater predilection for arms than for learning; and not finding sufficiently active service in England, he passed into Holland, and enrolled himself as a volunteer under the command of Lord Vere. On his return to England in 1637, he married Lady Anne Vere, his general's daughter, and took up his residence in his father's house, not mixing actively in public affairs, but sympathising deeply with the general indignation excited by the maxims and actions of Charles I., the bishops, and the court. His wife was a zealous Presbyterian; his father, Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, a man of wealth and activity, was the leader of the opposition in his county. Young Fairfax was confident and generous; the cause which his family maintained was the cause of his country and his faith; before the conflict had broken out between the king and the Parliament, he had taken his resolution; and when Charles, having left London, came into Yorkshire to attempt to raise a guard for his person, Fairfax was commissioned to present to him, in the name of the county, a petition imploring his Majesty to abandon his design of raising forces, and to listen to the

wishes of the Parliament. The king was afraid of all such manifestations of public opinion, and tried to avoid the reception of the petition; but on the 3rd of June, 1642, a large assemblage took place on Heyworth Moor: "More than forty thousand men were there, gentlemen, freeholders, farmers, citizens, mounted and on foot. The Cavaliers perceived that the petition was circulating among them. They burst into invectives and menaces, rode violently among the groups, snatched the copies of the petition from the hands of those who were reading it, and declared that the king would never receive it. Charles arrived, annoyed and vexed, not knowing what to say to this multitude, whose presence and turbulence had already offended his impolitic gravity. After having read an equivocal declaration, he was hastily retiring in order to avoid any reply, when young Fairfax succeeded in getting near him, fell suddenly on one knee, and displayed the petition on the pommel of his saddle, thus braving, even at his feet, the displeasure of the king, who immediately urged his horse against him, and pushed him violently, to force him to retire, but in vain."*

The civil war soon placed more effective weapons than petitions in Fairfax's hands. From 1642 to 1644, he and his father took part in the numerous skirmishes which occurred between the Parliamentarians and Cavaliers in Yorkshire. In this local warfare he speedily acquired a great reputation for brilliant, intelligent, and commanding bravery; and when the operations of the general war brought a large Parliamentary army into the north of England, young Thomas Fairfax was at once invested with a high command. These early adventures and exploits of his youth were replete with lasting and cherished recollections; for many years afterwards, in the retirement of his country seat, he took delight in relating them, with some detail, in a work which he entitled "A Short Memorial of the Northern Actions in which I was engaged during the War there, from the year 1642 to the year 1644."

In 1645, the first leaders of the revolution, both in the Parliament and the army, had been displaced; and the Independents, at length masters of the field, had decreed the formation of a new army to complete a victory which the first conquerors strove in vain to arrest. The military renown

* Guizot's History of the English Revolution, vol. i., p. 287. (Paris, 1850.)

of Fairfax, combined with Cromwell's recommendation, procured for him the chief command. From this time forward, his life is the history of the revolution itself; as a general, he was ever victorious on the battle-field; as a politician he was merely the tool of Cromwell and the army, whose designs he served, at first through ignorance, and afterwards through weakness and infatuation. In his old age, he wrote a second series of Memoirs on this second period of his life; but they are short and sad, and seem rather a sorrowful justification than a narrative of his actions. "When I bring to mind," he says, "the sad consequences that crafty and designing men have brought to pass since those first innocent undertakings, I am ready to let go that confidence I once had with God, when I could say with Job, *Till I die I will not remove my integrity from me*, nor *shall my heart reproach me so long as I live:* but I am now more fit to take up his complaint and say, *Why did I not die? why did I not give up the ghost when my life was on the confines of the grave?*"*

Fairfax's justification may easily be summed up in few words: he did not know what he was doing, and did not wish to do what he did; this is a fact attested by history, and proved by his own narrative.

When his blindness was in some measure dispelled, when his honesty had at last grown weary of that complicity from which it had not been able to withdraw him, after the death of the king and the subjugation of the Parliament by the army, Fairfax retired completely from public life. The measure by which the Republican Parliament, in 1650, ordered the English army to carry the war into Scotland, where Charles II. had just been crowned, was the pretext for this resolution; he declared that his fidelity to the Presbyterian covenant would not permit him to attack the Scotch in their own country, and he therefore resigned his command. The death of his father, on the 13th of March, 1648, had put him in possession of his title and fortune. Thenceforward he lived on his own estate of Nun-Appleton, in Yorkshire, greatly respected by the Presbyterian party, which more than once attempted to rally round him, but perfectly unconnected with the events which occurred until Cromwell's death. His relations with the Protector, during this period, were not of a very courteous nature. Cromwell rarely showed him any

* Maseres' Select Tracts, vol. ii., p. 443.

consideration, and sometimes treated him with mistrust and ill-humour. He seemed to hold him of no account, and never entrusted him with any public duty, except some insignificant commissions regarding the local affairs of the county. When Fairfax married his only daughter, Lady Mary, to the Duke of Buckingham, Cromwell was offended that his permission had not previously been requested, as had been the custom under the monarchy; and he was, moreover, of opinion that the Duke of Buckingham would have been a suitable husband for one of his own daughters. In paying Fairfax his compliments on the occasion, he made use of language which deeply wounded the victor at Naseby. "I have laid it up," said Fairfax to one of his friends, "and will remember it when there is occasion."*

This occasion did not occur during the lifetime of Cromwell, who had no fear of Fairfax's displeasure. But after the death of the Protector, and the rapid downfal of his son Richard, when the eyes of all England were turned towards the restoration of Charles II., the men who were preparing for its consummation thought that Fairfax would willingly help them, and they were not deceived. Now, as clear-sighted as he had formerly been credulous, the general of the Parliamentary army hastened to place at the service of Charles II. the popularity, consideration, and credit, which he had gained by making war upon Charles I. As soon as he learned, by a message from Monk himself, that the general of the Scottish army was preparing to march into England, first to support the Rump against the London army, and probably afterwards to help the king against the Rump, he sent his cousin, Brian Fairfax, to inform him that he was ready to co-operate with him, and that he would appear in arms in a few days, with such forces as he could collect. He did appear in arms, in fact, rather sooner than he had announced he would, and Monk, on hearing this news, hastened forward to assist him. On his arrival at York, Monk was met by Bowles, the chaplain and confidential adviser of Fairfax. "This gentleman," says Price, Monk's chaplain, in his Memoirs, "dealt with the general about weighty and dangerous affairs. One night, above the rest, keeping him up so very late, that, upon my entering the chamber to go to prayers, I found him and Bowles in very private discourse, and the general ordered me

* The Fairfax Correspondence, first series, vol. i., p. cvi.

to go out for a while, but not to bed. Some time after midnight Bowles went away, so that then our servants hoped to sleep; but the general sent for me into him, and commanded them to stay without, as before. He took me close to him, and said, "What do you think? Mr. Bowles has pressed me very hard to stay here, and declare for the king, assuring me that I shall have great assistance." I started at the boldness of the proposition, and asked him whether he had made Bowles any such promise. He answered me, "No; truly I have not, or I have not yet." For I found him a little perplexed in his thoughts, and I, myself, was as much; but, after a little pause, I spake to this effect: "That after the famous Gustavus, King of Sweedland, was slain in Germany,* his effigies in wax, with those of his queen and children, were carried up and down to be shown for twopence, the spectators being entertained with the story of his life, of which I remember this passage, that, when this king entered Germany, he said, '*That if his shirt knew what he intended to do, he would tear it from his back, and burn it.*' My application of this saying to the general was designed to entreat him to sleep between this and the walls of London; and when he came within them, which I doubted not but he would do very shortly, then to open his eyes and consider what he had to do."†

There was no need to press Monk to wait and be silent. He paid Fairfax a visit at his residence of Nun-Appleton, and Fairfax repeated to him what he had already stated, by means of his chaplain, Bowles; being perfectly convinced, he said, that there would be no peace in England until the nation were settled upon the old foundation of monarchy, and King Charles II. restored. "The general," says Brian Fairfax, "was more reserved than he needed to be upon this free discourse of my Lord Fairfax, being alone with him in his study, which gave my Lord occasion to suspect him ever after, till he declared himself the spring following to be of the same mind, having received another letter at London from my Lord Fairfax, accompanied with the address of all the gentlemen of Yorkshire for a free Parliament, and that they would pay no taxes till it met."‡

* Gustavus Adolphus was killed at the battle of Lutzen, on the 18th of November, 1633.

† Maseres' Select Tracts, vol. ii., pp. 731-752.

‡ The Fairfax Correspondence, first series, vol. i., p. cxi.

Events rapidly pursued their course. On the 29th of March, 1660, Fairfax was elected to represent Yorkshire in the Healing Parliament; and on the 16th of May he proceeded to the Hague, at the head of the deputies who had been sent by the House of Commons to recal Charles II. The king received him with marked distinction, sent Lord Gerard to compliment him personally, and granted him a long private audience, to which his chaplain, Mr. Bowles, was also admitted; and when, after the Restoration, the ceremony of the coronation took place, the king rode a horse which Fairfax had given him, and to which the old warrior addressed some wretched verses, to congratulate him on this great honour.

However, notwithstanding the ardour of his royalist zeal, and the sincerity of his repentance, Fairfax did not abandon even those of his former associates whose actions he had not approved. When the question of the amnesty, and the fate of the regicides was discussed in Parliament, he opposed their being brought to trial, saying that, if any one deserved to be punished on that account, he was the greatest culprit of all, for, at the time of the king's death, he had possessed power enough to prevent his execution, and had not thought proper to employ it. But Fairfax, in 1660, was no more able to offer any effectual opposition to the trial of the regicides than he had been, in 1649, to prevent the judgment of Charles I. Shortly after the dissolution of the Healing Parliament, in December, 1660, he left London for his seat of Nun-Appleton, near York, which he had built some years before, and where he continued to reside until his death, which occurred after a short illness, on the 12th of November, 1671. He had long been a sufferer from gout and stone, which he endured with a patience equal to the courage he had displayed in battle. During the last few years of his life he was deprived of the use of his lower limbs, and remained continually seated in his arm-chair, receiving with grave and unruffled countenance, from his family, his friends, his neighbours, and his dependents, those testimonies of respect and affection which he had won by the simple austerity of his manners, the sincerity of his convictions, the gentleness of his disposition, and the recollections of his former glory, which was daily heightened by the errors of the Restoration. His religious duties occupied a large portion of his time. A

few hours before his death he asked for a Bible. "My eyes grow dim," he said, as he opened it; but, nevertheless, he read the 42nd Psalm: "As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God! . . . When shall I come and appear before God?" He had scarcely read thus far when he fell into a mortal lethargy, and shortly after expired.

His daughter, Lady Mary Fairfax, Duchess of Buckingham, was, next to God, his first and last thought. Her marriage was the occasion of his fulfilling a singular prediction of his grandfather, Lord Thomas Fairfax, the founder of the political fortune of his family, for he was the first of the name raised to the peerage with the title of Baron Fairfax of Cameron. "Not many months before his death, he, walking in his great parlour at Denton, I only then present," says one of his sons, Charles Fairfax of Wenston, younger brother of Lord Ferdinando Fairfax, and consequently uncle of the Parliamentary general, "did seem much perplexed and troubled in his mind, but, after a few turns, broke out into these, or the like expressions: 'Charles, I am thinking what will become of my family when I am gone; I have added a title to the heir-male of my house, and shall leave a competent estate to support it. Ferdinando will keep it, and leave it to his son; but such is Tom's pride, led by his wife, that he, not contented to live in our rank, will destroy his house.' I then offered something in vindication of both; yet, notwithstanding, he solemnly charged me upon his blessing to make known what he told me when I saw a probability that it might so fall out. . . . . After some years, when I was informed that the now Lord Thomas had cut off the entail made by his father and grandfather for the settlement of the estate upon the heir-male, charging the land with a complete provision for a daughter or daughters; he, the now Lord Fairfax, being then at Denton, in the very same room where I received my charge, I faithfully acquainted him with the passages, as above said. He gave me my liberty, without words of impertinency, or any appearance of distaste, and made me (then) more than verbal expressions of a kind acceptance."*

Lord Fairfax was attached to his uncle, and respectful to the memory of his grandfather; but he nevertheless persisted in the determination which the latter had foreseen;

* The Fairfax Correspondence, first series, vol. i., pp. cvii.-cviii.

and, abolishing the entail of the estates upon the heir-male, left all his fortune to his daughter, the Duchess of Buckingham. But his daughter was utterly ruined by this marriage, of which Fairfax was so proud. After having rendered his wife wretched during his lifetime, the Duke of Buckingham left her, at his death, so overwhelmed with debts, that her estate at Nun-Appleton was entirely absorbed by the claims of the creditors: and Fairfax's cherished daughter—that Lady Mary whom he was so anxious to place in a high position, both for wealth and rank—died in London, on the 20th of October, 1704, under circumstances of comparative penury and distress.

As for the title of Baron Fairfax of Cameron, and a Peer of the United Kingdom, it passed, at Fairfax's death, to his cousin Henry, whose grandson Thomas, the sixth lord, emigrated to Virginia, where he had immense estates, and where he definitively established his family, though still retaining his rank and seat among the peers of England. The title still stands in the British peerage book, but the residence of the family is thus indicated:—"Seat: Woodburne, Maryland, United States of America."

In his retirement at Nun-Appleton, Fairfax retained until his death a strong taste for literary as well as pious occupations. He left manuscript translations of the Psalms, the Canticles, and some other portions of the Holy Scriptures, a short poem upon solitude, a number of notes upon sermons, written either by himself or by his wife and daughter, and a treatise on the shortness of life. These manuscripts, with some others, are preserved; part in the library at Denton, and part in Mr. Thoresby's museum. On more than one occasion, while the civil war was at its height, Fairfax afforded most useful protection to literature and literary institutions. By his care, the libraries at York and Oxford were, partially at least, preserved from pillage. He also contributed to the publication of the great Polyglot, and he was the constant patron of the learned Dodsworth, in his works upon British antiquities.

Epitaphs, and particularly family epitaphs, prove very little. Nevertheless, that which the Duke of Buckingham inscribed on Fairfax's tomb is worthy of remark. His character is depicted in it with considerable truthfulness; and it indicates not merely the opinion entertained of him by his friends,

but also the brilliancy of his renown in his own country, even during the sway of the party which he had so long opposed. It is entitled

A PINDARIC POEM ON THE DEATH OF THE LORD FAIRFAX.

Under this stone does lie
One born for victory;
Fairfax the valiant, and the only he
Whoe'er for that alone a conqueror would be:
Both sexes' virtues were in him combined;
He had the fierceness of the manliest mind,
And yet the meekness, too, of womankind.
He never knew what envy was, nor hate;
His soul was filled with truth and honesty,
And with another thing, quite out of date, called modesty.

He ne'er seemed impudent, but in the place
Where impudence itself dares seldom show its face;
Had any strangers spied him in the room
With some of those he had overcome,
And had not heard their talk, but only seen
Their gesture and their mien,
They would have sworn he had the vanquished been:
For as they bragged, and dreadful would appear,
While they their own ill-luck in war repeated,
His modesty still made him blush, to hear
How often he had them defeated.

Through his whole life, the part he bore
Was wonderful and great,
And yet it so appeared in nothing more
Than in his private last retreat;
For 'tis a stranger thing to find
One man of such a worthy mind,
As can dismiss the power which he has got;
Than millions of the polls and braves;
Those despicable fools and knaves,
Who such a pudder make,
Through dulness and mistake,
In seeking after power, and get it not.

When all the nation he had won,
And with expense of blood had bought
Store great enough, he thought
Of glory and renown;
He then his arms laid down,
With just as little pride
As if he had been of his enemies' side,
Or one of them could do that were undone:
He neither wealth nor places sought—
He never for himself but others fought:
He was content to know
(For he had found it so)
That when he pleased to conquer, he was able,
And left the spoil and plunder to the rabble.

He might have been a king,
But that he understood
How much it was a meaner thing
To be unjustly great than honourably good.
This from the world did admiration draw,
And, from his friends, both love and awe,
Rememb'ring what he did in fight before:
And his foes loved him too,
As they were bound to do,
Because he was resolved to fight no more.
So, blessed by all, he died; but far more blest were we,
If we were sure to live till we could see
A man as great in war, as just in peace as he.*

Whatever latitude we may allow to the illusions of filial piety, and the eulogies of the deceased, such an epitaph could not have been inscribed, in the sight and knowledge of a whole people, of a free people, upon the tomb of a man whom public opinion had not greatly honoured. England really held Fairfax in high honour; and this not merely on account of his military glory, which was the more brilliant because his personal bravery and the enthusiasm with which he inspired his soldiers had always had a large share in his successes; Fairfax was also distinguished by the utmost frankness and disinterestedness, and these qualities, notwithstanding all faults and mistakes, strike the imagination and command the esteem of our fellow-men. He had been the dupe and the instrument of factions, but he was a perfect stranger to the spirit of faction; not only did he not seek his personal advantage in war and politics, he did not even seek to obtain the triumph of those party interests and passions which so frequently corrupt generous minds, when they have once fallen under their influence. Isolated in the midst of the Independents, the Republicans, and the army, who successively made use of him against the Presbyterians, the Parliament, and the monarchy, Fairfax lent his sanction to their actions, without sharing in their plans or associating himself with their intrigues; though continually deceived, he was never a deceiver; he was weak through his credulity, and credulous through his weakness; equally incapable of resisting the perverse and of being perverted by them. As long as he was concerned in public affairs, the clever men of all parties considered him a mere puppet; when the revolution appeared to be completed, his fellow-citizens were so convinced of his candour and rectitude, that they did not

* The works of George Villiers, Duke of Buckingham, vol. ii., pp. 135-137.

impute to him any of the evil that had been done under his name.

In 1822, Mr. Fiennes Wykeham Martin, the proprietor of Leeds Castle, in the county of Kent, having occasion to make some alterations in the castle, set apart for sale a quantity of useless furniture. Amongst the lumber which was thus to be swept away was an old oaken chest, which was purchased for a few shillings by Mr. Gooding, a shoemaker, in the neighbouring village of Lenham. Upon the inspection of its contents, Mr. Gooding found an enormous quantity of manuscripts, carefully arranged. Not attaching any special value to treasures of this description, he consigned the papers to a cellar, to be destroyed, as occasion served, for waste paper. It was fortunately suggested to Mr. Gooding, however, to offer them to Mr. Newington Hughes, a banker at Maidstone, and well known as a collector of antiquities. Mr. Hughes bought them. Some of the parchments had already been cut into strips for shoemakers' measures; others had been taken and dispersed through the villages. Mr. Hughes and some of his fellow antiquaries instituted a diligent search for them, and they were nearly all recovered. These papers, originally deposited in one of Fairfax's residences in Yorkshire, had doubtless been transferred to Leeds Castle on the marriage of Thomas, fifth Lord Fairfax, to the daughter of Lord Culpepper, the owner of the latter estate. They contain the domestic documents and correspondence of the Fairfax family for two centuries, but chiefly concern the period of the English revolution, from the accession of the Stuarts to that of the House of Hanover. Mr. Johnson, an eminent lawyer, commenced their publication three years ago. Two volumes appeared in 1848, under the auspices of Mr. Bentley, the publisher, and were entitled, "The Fairfax Correspondence: Memoirs of the Reign of Charles I." They only extend as far as the commencement of the civil war, in 1642. It is much to be desired that this publication should be completed; although it has hitherto revealed no new and important facts, it contains many curious details respecting the exact sequence of events, and the characters of the principal personages who occur in the history.

In 1849, the second series of the "Fairfax Correspondence,"

relating to the period of the civil war and the Restoration, was published under the editorship of Mr. Robert Bell. "These volumes," says the editor, "are crowded with minute details and individual experiences, and bring us closer to the actual vicissitudes of the flying campaigns—from the hoisting of the royal standard at Nottingham, to the imprisonment of the king at Carisbrook—than any previous publication. Written for the most part on the instant, under the walls of besieged towns, in the committee-rooms of the House of Commons, on the field of battle, or in the midst of councils of war, they are distinguished by a freshness and freedom seldom found in documents of a more formal and elaborate character." Four volumes of this character must surely constitute a most important addition to our historical literature.

MRS. HUTCHINSON.

[1620—1669.]

In the Tower of London, on the 29th of January, 1620, five years before Charles I. ascended the throne, was born Lucy Apsley, daughter of Sir Allen Apsley, Lieutenant of the Tower—a devoted servant of the king, and whose sons, when the war broke out between the king and the Parliament, were among the most faithful of the Cavaliers. "My mother," says Mrs. Hutchinson, in her Memoirs, "while she was with child of me, dreamed that she was walking in the garden with my father, and that a star came down into her hand, with other circumstances, which, though I have often heard, I minded not enough to remember perfectly; only my father told her, her dream signified she should have a daughter of some extraordinary eminency, which thing, like such vain prophecies, wrought as far as it could its own accomplishment; for my father and mother, fancying me then beautiful, and more than ordinarily apprehensive (quick to learn), applied all their cares and spared no cost to improve me in my education, which procured me the admiration of those that flattered my parents. . . . . When I was about seven years of age, I remember I had at one time eight tutors in several qualities, languages, music, dancing, writing, and needlework; but my

genius was quite averse from all but my book, and that I was so eager of, that every moment I could steal from my play, I would employ in any book I could find . . . . My father would have me learn Latin, and I was so apt that I outstripped my brothers who were at school, although my father's chaplain, that was my tutor, was a pitiful dull fellow. My mother would have been contented if I had not so wholly addicted myself to my learning as to neglect my other qualities. As for music and dancing, I profited very little in them, and I would never practise my lute or harpsichords but when my masters were with me; and for my needle, I absolutely hated it. Play among other children I despised, and when I was forced to entertain such as came to visit me, I tired them with more grave instructions than their mothers, and plucked all their babies to pieces, and kept the children in such awe, that they were glad when I entertained myself with graver company; to whom I was very acceptable, and living in the house with many persons that had a great deal of wit, and very profitable serious discourse, being frequent at my father's table, and in my mother's drawing-room, I was very attentive to all, and gathered up things that I would utter again, to great admiration of many that took my memory and imitation for wit. It pleased God that, through the good instructions of my mother, and the sermons she carried me to, I was convinced that the knowledge of God was the most excellent study, and accordingly applied myself to it, and to practise as I was taught. I used to exhort my mother's maids much, and to turn their idle discourses to good subjects; but I thought when I had done this on the Lord's Day, and every day performed my due tasks of reading and praying, that then I was free to anything that was not sin; for I was not at that time convinced of the vanity of conversation which was not scandalously wicked. I thought it no sin to learn or hear witty songs and amorous sonnets or poems, and twenty things of that kind, wherein I was so apt that I became the confidant in all the loves that were managed among my mother's young women; and there was none of them but had many lovers, and some particular friends beloved above the rest."*

Whilst Lucy Apsley was growing into womanhood, and dividing her time between learned studies, pious exercises,

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, pp. 16-18, in "Bohn's Standard Library."

and romantic sentiments, a young gentleman, named John Hutchinson, born in 1616, four years before her, at Owthorpe, in Nottinghamshire, was springing into manhood, unknown to Lucy and her parents, but addicted to the same feelings, habits, and tastes as herself. "He was of a middle stature, of a slender and exactly well-proportioned shape in all parts; his complexion fair; his hair of light brown, very thick set in his youth, softer than the finest silk, and curling into loose, great rings at the end; his eyes of a lively grey, well-shaped, and full of lively vigour, graced with many becoming motions; his visage thin; his mouth well made, and his lips very ruddy and graceful, although the nether chap shut over the upper, yet it was in such a manner as was not unbecoming; his teeth were even, and white as the purest ivory; his chin was something long, and the mould of his face; his forehead was not very high; his nose was raised and sharp; but withal he had a most amiable countenance, which carried in it something of magnanimity and majesty mixed with sweetness, that at the same time bespoke love and awe in all that saw him."*

Then follows the moral portraiture of John Hutchinson, his fine natural disposition, his acquired virtues, his character and piety, his spiritual, temporal, political, and domestic merits; and at the conclusion of this long expression of her love, admiration, and respect, Mrs. Hutchinson has written: "All this, and more, is true; but I so much dislike the manner of relating it, that I will make another essay."† This, in fact, she did; but, in the opinion of the editor of her Memoirs, her second attempt to delineate the character of her husband was not equal to the first; and the first only has been published.

The acquaintance which led to the intimate union of these two persons could not fail to be accompanied by some of those singular incidents which strike lively imaginations and influence passionate wills. In 1637, Lucy Apsley's family was established for a time at Richmond, near London; and Mr. Hutchinson was invited by one of his friends to spend the summer at the same place, in a house where, he was told, he would find "very good company and recreations." He mentioned his plan to a gentleman of his acquaintance, and

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 22, in "Bohn's Standard Library."
† Ibid., p. 35, note.

told him of the house whither he was going; but this friend "bid him take heed of the place, for it was so fatal for love, that never any young disengaged person went thither who returned again free. Mr. Hutchinson laughed at him, and went to Richmond, where he found a great deal of good young company."* At this time, Miss Apsley was not there; but Mr. Hutchinson heard a great deal about her. "One day, when he was at her mother's house, some half a mile from Richmond, looking upon an odd by-shelf in a closet, he found a few Latin books; asking whose they were, he was told they were Miss Lucy Apsley's; whereupon, inquiring more after her, he began first to be sorry she was gone before he had seen her, and gone upon such an account that he was not likely to see her. Then he grew to love to hear mention of her, and the other gentlewomen who had been her companions used to talk much to him of her, telling him how reserved and studious she was, and other things which they esteemed no advantage. But it so much inflamed Mr. Hutchinson's desire of seeing her, that he began to wonder at himself, that his heart, which had ever entertained so much indifference for the most excellent of womankind, should have such strong impulses towards a stranger he never saw. One day there was a great deal of company at Mr. Coleman's, the gentleman's house where he tabled, to hear the music; and a certain song was sung which had been lately set, and gave occasion to some of the company to mention an answer to it, which was in the house, and upon some of their desires read. A gentleman saying it was believed that a woman in the neighbourhood had made it, it was presently inquired who; whereupon a gentleman, then present, who had made the first song, said there were but two women that could be guilty of it; whereof one was a lady then among them, the other Miss Apsley. Mr. Hutchinson, fancying something of rationality in the sonnet, beyond the customary reach of a she-wit, addressed himself to the gentleman, and told him he could scarcely believe it was a woman's; whereupon this gentleman, who was a man of good understanding and expression, and inspired with some passion for her himself, told Mr. Hutchinson that though, for civility to the rest, he entitled another lady to the song, yet he was confident it was Miss Apsley's only, for she had

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 55.

sense above all the rest; and fell into such high praises of her, as might well have begotten those vehement desires of her acquaintance, which a strange sympathy in nature had before produced.

"Before many days had passed, a footboy of my lady her mother's came to young Miss Apsley as they were at dinner, bringing news that her mother and sister would in a few days return; and when they inquired of him whether Miss Apsley was married, having before been instructed to make them believe it, he smiled, and pulled out some bride-laces, which were given at a wedding in the house where she was, and gave them to the young gentlewoman and the gentleman's daughter of the house, and told them Miss Apsley bade him tell no news, but give them those tokens, and carried the matter so, that all the company believed she had been married. Mr. Hutchinson immediately turned pale as ashes, and felt a fainting to seize his spirits in that extraordinary manner, that he was fain to retire. When he was alone he began to recollect his wisdom and his reason, and to wonder at himself, why he should be so concerned in an unknown person; he then remembered the story that was told him when he came down, and began to believe there was some magic in the place, which enchanted men out of their right senses. Having fortified himself with resolution, he got up the next day; but yet could not quit himself of an extravagant perplexity of soul concerning this unknown gentlewoman, which had not been remarkable in another light person, but in him, who was from his childhood so serious and so rational in all his considerations, it was the effect of a miraculous power of Providence, leading him to her that was destined to make his future joy. While she so ran in his thoughts, meeting the boy again, he found out, upon a little stricter examination of him, that she was not married, and pleased himself in the hopes of her speedy return."*

Miss Apsley returned; Mr. Hutchinson saw her; they took much pleasure in each other's society, and soon gave expression to their mutual affection, with that combination of frankness and timidity which ever characterises the feelings of serious, virtuous, and enthusiastic youth. Various obstacles for some time thwarted the consummation of their happiness; their families hesitated, the young men were jealous, and the young ladies envious. Miss Apsley had an attack of

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, pp. 57-60.

small-pox, and fears were entertained, first for her life, and afterwards for her beauty. But she regained her health, and retained her charms. The constancy of Mr. Hutchinson overcame all obstacles. "I shall pass by," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "all the little amorous relations which, if I would take the pains to relate, would make a true history of a more handsome management of love than the best romances describe; but these are to be forgotten as the vanities of youth, not worthy of mention among the greater transactions of his life."*

Fortunately for us, Mrs. Hutchinson was not, when she began to write her Memoirs, under the influence of this Puritan rigidity with reference to the tender recollections of her youth; her first impulse was to allow herself to go on relating them with grave and touching sincerity, in which a little vain complacency sometimes appears, and even after she had prescribed herself silence upon this subject, her narrative of the great events in which her husband took a part continues to be much more of a biography than of a history. And this constitutes its peculiar merit and interest. In most of the memoirs relating to the English revolution, the narrator says very little about himself, and those matters which interested himself only. Royalists, Parliamentarians, and Republicans, all seem to forget themselves, and take heed only of the general fate of their cause; they relate the history of their own time, not of themselves; each man describes and judges facts according to the opinions and fashions of his party; but their only care is of the political interests which they maintain, and they seldom step aside to enter into details unconnected with the narrative of historical occurrences. In the Memoirs of Mrs. Hutchinson, on the contrary, the history of public affairs occupies only a secondary position; it was of Colonel Hutchinson himself, his position and actions, the incidents and experiences of his life, that his wife desired to perpetuate the remembrance. The part played by Sir John Hutchinson was not a conspicuous one; the trial of Charles I. was the only important act in which he shared; and yet he was a man of great activity; around him, in his county, within the walls of Nottingham (of which town he was governor), were displayed all the passions, and undergone all the vicissitudes, of the struggle which then convulsed England. The same cause

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 62.

which, at London and in the Parliament, produced historical events, led at Nottingham to municipal, or even simply domestic, occurrences, which excited as strong emotions, and required from the men who wielded the local authority efforts as numerous and vigorous, as were put forth at Westminster by the leaders of the nation. These are the scenes which Mrs. Hutchinson depicts; pictures of life, which constitute an essential part of history, although history says very little about them. Hampden, Pym, Strafford, Fairfax, Ireton, and even Cromwell himself, only appear occasionally and dimly in Mrs. Hutchinson's Memoirs; the persons who act, speak, and occupy a prominent position in her work are Mr. Millington, the representative of Nottingham in Parliament; Dr. Plumptre, a physician at Nottingham; Mr. Chadwick, a lawyer; Mr. Hooper, an engineer; Mr. Palmer, a preacher; and twenty others, as active as they were obscure, and who really caused and guided, in their district or in their town, that revolution from the history of which, a few years afterwards, their names had entirely disappeared. Mrs. Hutchinson passed her life among these unknown revolutionaries; she describes their rivalries, their intrigues, their characters; and relates the efforts made by the different parties, or fractions of parties, to conquer, supplant, or injure each other. We penetrate, under her guidance, into the midst of their families. And whilst she brings before us these personages, true types of the age in which they lived, but otherwise devoted to oblivion, she has this very rare merit, that neither the interests of her cause nor her own passions can blind her with regard to the vices or absurdities of the petty heroes and unworthy servants of her party. As regards general events, she shares in the prejudices and ignorance of the Puritan and Republican fanaticism of her times; but whenever she speaks of events that have come under her own cognizance, that have occurred in her own neighbourhood, she rarely fails to manifest independence and rectitude of mind; and she unhesitatingly attacks and denounces anything that has excited her virtuous indignation. In Derbyshire, which borders upon Nottinghamshire, Sir John Gell had raised a regiment of infantry on behalf of the Parliament. "These," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "were good, stout, fighting-men, but the most licentious, ungovernable wretches that belonged to the Parliament. As regards (Sir John Gell) himself, no man knew for what reason

he chose that side; for he had not understanding enough to judge the equity of the cause, nor piety nor holiness; being a foul adulterer all the time he served the Parliament, and so unjust that, without any remorse, he suffered his men indifferently to plunder both honest men and Cavaliers. . . . This man kept the journalists in pension, so that whatever was done in the neighbouring counties against the enemy was attributed to him; and thus he hath indirectly purchased himself a name in story which he never merited. He was a very bad man, to sum up all in that word, yet an instrument of service to the Parliament in those parts."*

At Nottingham itself, Chadwick, the lawyer, and Palmer, the minister, were amongst the most important members of the Parliamentarian party. "Chadwick," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "was a fellow of a most pragmatical temper, and, to say truth, had strangely wrought himself into a station unfit for him. By flatteries and dissimulations he kept up his credit with the godly, cutting his hair, and taking up a form of godliness, the better to deceive. He was very poor, although he got abundance of money by a thousand cheats and other base ways, wherein he exercised all his life; but he was as great a prodigal in spending as knave in getting. Among other villanies which he secretly practised, he was a libidinous goat, for which his wife, they say, paid him with making him a cuckold; yet were there not two persons to be found that pretended more sanctity than these two."†

As for Palmer, the minister, "this man had a bold, ready, earnest way of preaching, and lived holily and regularly as to outward conversation, whereby he got a great reputation among the godly; and this reputation swelled his spirit, which was very vain-glorious, covetous, contentious, and ambitious. The Newarkers plundered all the country even to the walls of Nottingham; upon which some godly men offered themselves to bring in their horses, and form a troop for the defence of the country, and Mr. Palmer had a commission to be their captain. He would have it believed that it was rather pressed upon him, than he pressed into it; and, therefore, being at that time in the castle, he came to the governor and his wife, telling them that these honest people pressed him very much to be their captain, and desiring their friendly and Christian

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, pp. 127-128.
† Ibid., pp. 134-136.

advice whether he should accept or refuse it. They freely told him, that having entered into a charge of another kind, they thought it not fit for him to engage in this; and that he might as much advance the public service, and satisfy the men, in marching with them in the nature of a chaplain as in that of a captain. He, that asked not counsel to take any contrary to his first resolve, went away confused when he found he was not advised as he would have been, and said he would endeavour to persuade them to be content; and afterwards said, they would not be otherwise satisfied, and so he was forced to accept the commission."*

In view of the base and shameful practices of these subaltern revolutionaries it is impossible not to feel a lively interest—indeed, a kind of affection for Colonel Hutchinson and his wife, in whose household piety mingled with nobility, and gravity with tenderness, where the most hallowed domestic feelings were united with the most sincere patriotism, and where Puritan stiffness did not exclude either the passionate enthusiasm of a wife's love for her husband, or the elegant refinement of manners of a gentleman who devoted himself to the popular cause without being influenced by the hatred, the envy, the avarice, the thirst for vengeance, or any of the passions of the multitude: passions as brutal as they are hideous, even during those short and rare intervals when the multitude is in the right. In 1646, Colonel Hutchinson, though he did not entirely leave Nottingham, was transferred to a wider sphere of action. He was elected a member of the House of Commons, and his Parliamentary duties compelled him from that time forward to spend part of the year in London. He found that the same egotistical passions, the same absurd intrigues, and the same moral miseries as he had deplored and combated in his county, existed in the capital; but he and his wife were as uncorrupted at London as they had been at Nottingham. In describing the scenes and actors of the great theatre into which she had been introduced, Mrs. Hutchinson displays the same sound and unbiassed judgment as she had exhibited in relating the cabals and corruptions of the small town in which she had previously resided. "It was a misery to be bewailed in those days," she says, "that many of the Parliamentary party exercised cruelty,

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 175.

injustice, and oppression to their conquered enemies.* . . . . . Almost all the Parliament-garrisons were infected and disturbed with factious little people, insomuch that many worthy gentlemen were wearied out of their commands, and oppressed by a certain mean sort of people in the House, whom to distinguish from the more honourable gentlemen, they called *Worsted-stocking Men*.† . . . . . Cromwell's wife and children were setting up for principality, which suited no better with any of them than scarlet on the ape; only, to speak the truth of himself, he had much natural greatness, and well became the place he had usurped. His daughter, Fleetwood, was humbled, and not exalted with these things; but the rest were insolent fools. Claypole, who married his daughter, and his son, Henry, were two debauched, ungodly Cavaliers. Richard was a peasant in his nature, yet gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness. His court was full of sin and vanity, and the more abominable, because they had not yet quite cast away the name of God, but profaned it by taking it in vain upon them. True religion was now almost lost, even among the religious party, and hypocrisy became an epidemical disease, to the sad grief of Colonel Hutchinson, and all true-hearted Christians and Englishmen."‡

Even when she is speaking of the most fanatical servants of that cause to which her husband and herself were so passionately devoted, Mrs. Hutchinson retains perfect freedom of judgment, accurately observes their weaknesses, and sometimes stoops to irony in her description of them. "Major-General Harrison," she says, "who was but a mean man's son, and of a mean education, and of no estate before the war, had gathered an estate of two thousand a year besides engrossing great offices, and encroaching upon his under-officers; and maintained his coach and family at a height as if they had been born to a principality. About the same time a great ambassador from the King of Spain was to have public audience in the House, and was the first who had addressed them, owning them as a republic. The day before his audience, Colonel Hutchinson was sitting in the House, near some young men handsomely clad, among whom was Mr. Charles Rich, since Earl of Warwick; and the colonel himself had on that day a habit which was pretty rich but grave,

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p 353. † Ibid., p. 279.
‡ Ibid., p. 370.

and no other than he usually wore. Harrison, addressing himself particularly to him, admonished them all, that now the nations sent to them, they should labour to shine before them in wisdom, piety, righteousness, and justice, and not in gold and silver, and worldly bravery, which did not become saints; and that the next day, when the ambassadors came, they should not set themselves out in gorgeous habits, which were unsuitable to holy professions. The colonel, although he was not convinced of any misbecoming bravery in the suit he wore that day, which was but of sad-coloured cloth trimmed with gold, and silver points and buttons; yet, because he would not appear offensive in the eyes of religious persons, the next day he went in a plain black suit, and so did all the other gentlemen; but Harrison came that day in a scarlet coat and cloak, both laden with gold and silver lace, and the coat so covered with clinquant (foil), that one scarcely could discern the ground, and in this glittering habit he set himself just under the Speaker's chair; which made the other gentlemen think that his godly speeches the day before were but made that he alone might appear in the eyes of strangers. But this was part of his weakness. The Lord at last lifted him above these poor earthly elevations, which then and some time afterwards prevailed too much with him."*

Colonel Hutchinson and his wife were naturally too high-minded and refined in manners ever to fall into the littlenesses practised by some of their party; but they participated in their political passions and infatuation, and endured its mournful destiny. The colonel was one of the judges of Charles I., and signed the sentence of his condemnation—a great moral iniquity, and detestable piece of policy, for which the republic and its partisans suffered a just punishment. Of all the men who took part in this fatal act, no one was more sincere, disinterested, and courageous than Hutchinson. He did not even claim the honour of courage. "It is certain," says Mrs. Hutchinson, "that all men herein were left to their free liberty of acting, neither persuaded nor compelled; and as there were some nominated on the commission who never sat, and others who sat at first but durst not hold on, so all the rest might have declined if they would."† Hutchinson did not decline to sit, but persevered in the deplorable course on which he had entered. Soon, however, all the power of

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, pp. 348-349. † Ibid., p. 335.

the revolution, the Long Parliament, Cromwell, the army, the Rump, had successively failed in their attempts to establish the republic in England. The restoration of Charles II. became a fatal necessity, as well as the evident wish of the nation. "The last remnant of the House of Commons," says Mrs. Hutchinson herself, "was divided into miserable factions, among whom some would then have violently set up an oath of renunciation of the king and his family. The colonel, thinking it a ridiculous thing to *swear out* a man, when they had no power to defend themselves against him, vehemently opposed that oath, and carried against Sir Arthur Haslerig and others, who as violently pressed it, urging very truly that those oaths that had been formerly imposed had but multiplied the sins of the nation by perjuries; instancing how Sir Arthur and others, in Oliver's time, coming into the House, swore on their entrance they would attempt nothing in the change of that government, which, as soon as ever they were entered, they laboured to throw down. Many other arguments he used, whereupon many honest men, who thought till then he had followed a faction in all things and not his own judgment, began to meet often with him, and to consult what to do in these difficulties, out of which their prudence and honesty would have found a way to extricate themselves; but that the end of our prosperity was come, hastened on partly by the mad, rash violence of some that, without strength, opposed the tide of the discontented, tumultuous people; partly by the detestable treachery of those who had sold themselves to do mischief; but chiefly by the general stream of the people, who were as eager for their own destruction as the Israelites of old for their quails."*

In the history of the republicans at this period, I cannot find any other example of so much mental vigour and patriotic disinterestedness, combined with no disavowal of his past conduct or forgetfulness of his personal dignity. Colonel Hutchinson for some time reaped the benefit of his courageous moderation. Several distinguished members of the Royalist party laboured zealously to exempt him from the measures taken against the other regicides; and his wife displayed admirable energy and presence of mind in her efforts to serve him in this emergency. He was allowed to retire to Owthorpe, his patrimonial estate, and to live there in peace for three

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, pp. 393-396.

years, in the bosom of his family, and occupied only by the care of his domestic interests. But revolutions are pitiless in their reactions; the vices of the Restoration speedily developed themselves; party animosities and court factions sprang up once more; and popular conspiracies were framed in secret. Notwithstanding the combined efforts of his friends and enemies to bring him once more into public life, Hutchinson kept aloof from all these movements; but he took no pains to conceal his opinions, and perhaps even, his hopes. He was consequently closely watched, subjected to continual annoyances, and, on the 11th of October, 1663, arrested in his house at Owthorpe, and confined, first in that same Tower of London in which his wife had been born, and afterwards in Sandown Castle, on the sea coast, near Deal, in Kent. His wife vainly entreated that she might be imprisoned with him; but being refused, she established herself at Deal, with her son and daughter, and walked to Sandown to dine with the colonel, returning to Deal in the evening. Ten months elapsed, during which Colonel Hutchinson's confinement was aggravated by the dampness of the place, the severity of the winter, the avarice of the governor of the castle, and the society of another prisoner whom he suspected of being a spy upon him. Hutchinson preserved his composure unruffled, spent his time in reading pious books, affectionately sustained the courage of his wife, who was very anxious about his health, and gave these last counsels to his son Thomas, as they walked together on the sea-shore: "The courses which the king and his party take to establish themselves," he said, "will be their ruin; the ill-management of the State will cause discontented wild parties to mutiny, and rise against the present powers; but they will only put things in confusion; it must be a sober party that must then arise and settle them. Let not my son, how fairly soever they pretend, too rashly engage with the first, but stay to see what they make good, and engage with those who are for settlement, who will have need of men of interest to assist them."* How sensible and touching is this anxiety of the father to guard his son against those errors into which he could not help feeling that he had fallen himself!

The winter now drew near; the colonel's health became gradually more impaired; Mrs. Hutchinson was obliged to go

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 475.

to Owthorpe to fetch her younger children, and some furniture, which she required, for her husband's use. She felt very unwilling to take this journey, for she was a prey to melancholy presentiments. The colonel, on the contrary, was full of hope and gaiety; he gave his wife written instructions regarding his plantations at Owthorpe, and the arrangement of his house and gardens. "You give me," said she, "these orders, as if you were to see that place again." "If I do not," said he, "I thank God I can cheerfully forego it; but I will not distrust that God will bring me back again, and therefore I will take care to keep it while I have it."*

Mrs. Hutchinson went to Owthorpe, leaving her husband under the care of his daughter and his brother, George Hutchinson. A few days afterwards his disease grew rapidly worse, and death became imminent, so that his physician, a pious man like himself, told him of his danger, and asked him if his peace were made with God. "The will of the Lord be done," said the colonel. "I am ready for it. I hope you do not think me so ill a Christian, to have been thus long in prison, and have that to do now!" Then they asked him where he would be buried? He told them in his vault at Owthorpe. His brother told him it would be a long way to carry him; he answered, "Let my wife order the manner of it as she will, only I would be there. I would have spoken to my wife and son, but it is not the will of God. Let my wife, as she is above other women, show herself, on this occasion, a good Christian, and above the pitch of ordinary women." He passed the day, on the 11th of September, 1644, in profound repose, speaking occasionally to those who stood by him. Towards the evening he ceased to speak; one of those present mentioned Mrs. Hutchinson's name to him, and said, "Alas! how will she be surprised!" The colonel moved slightly, fetched a sigh, and expired.†

Mrs. Hutchinson was not overwhelmed by her loss; her soul was as strong as it was passionate, and sustained by that deep religious faith which changes hope into certainty, and converts the pangs of death into the privations of absence. Sure of being once more united to her much-loved husband, her chief care now was to hold him up as an example to her children, and to perpetuate his memory. "They who dote on

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, pp. 475-476. † Ibid., pp. 478-480.

mortal excellences," she says, "when by the inevitable fate of all things frail, their adored idols are taken from them, may let loose the winds of passion to bring in a flood of sorrow; whose ebbing tides carry away the dear memory of what they have lost; and when comfort is essayed to such mourners, commonly all objects are removed out of their view, which may, with their remembrance, renew the grief; and in time these remedies succeed, and oblivion's curtain is by degrees drawn over the dead face, and things less lovely are liked, while they are not viewed together with that which was most excellent. But I, that am under a command not to grieve at the common rate of desolate women, while I am studying which way to moderate my woe, and if it were possible to augment my love, can for the present find out none more just to my dear husband, nor consolatory to myself, than the preservation of his memory."*

It was with these feelings, and in order to discharge this duty, that Mrs. Hutchinson wrote her Memoirs. They remained unknown for nearly a century and a half among the family papers of Colonel Hutchinson's descendants; but were discovered and published, in 1806, by the Rev. Julius Hutchinson.

Rather less than a century before Colonel Hutchinson and his wife assumed a place in the annals of their country, France contained a household similar to theirs, more illustrious in worldly rank, and assuredly more pious and virtuous in the sight of God: Philip Duplessis Mornay, long the intimate friend and ever the faithful servant of Henry IV., and Charlotte Arbaleste de la Borde, his wife.† Madame de Mornay, more fortunate in this respect than Mrs. Hutchinson, had not the sad fate of surviving her husband; she was the first to take her departure to everlasting rest. But like Mrs. Hutchinson, she had wished to write the Memoirs of her husband, with a view to the instruction of her son. She addressed them to him expressly in a letter written from Saumur, on the 25th of April, 1595; he was then scarcely sixteen years of age, having been born on the 20th of July, 1579. "I see you," she says, "ready to depart to go and

* Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, pp. 19-20.

† Philippe de Mornay, Lord of Plessis-Marly, was born on the 5th of November, 1549, and died on the 11th of November, 1623. Charlotte Arbaleste de la Borde, his wife, was born in 1550, and died on the 15th of May, 1607.

see the world, and make yourself acquainted with the manners of men and the state of nations. You are young, my son, and diverse fantasies present themselves to youth; bear in mind always the words of the Psalmist: 'Thy testimonies, O Lord, shall be the men of my counsel.' But that you may never be without a guide, here is one that I give you by the hand, and written by my own hand, to accompany you; it is the example of your father which I adjure you always to keep before your eyes, as far as I have been able to know his life, notwithstanding that our company has frequently been interrupted by the misfortunes of the times. I am infirm, and I do not think that God will leave me long in this world; so you will keep this writing in memory of me. And when God shall please to take me from you, I desire that you should finish what I have begun to write of the course of our life; but above all, my son, I shall believe that you will remember me when I shall hear it said that, in whatever place you are, you serve God and imitate your father."*

God imposed on Madame de Mornay the unutterable grief of concluding her narrative of her husband's life by a record of the death of that son for whom she had written it. Young Philip de Mornay, who was serving in the Netherlands, in the army of Prince Maurice of Nassau, was killed on the 23rd of October, 1606, at the siege of Guelders. His father received the distressing news on the 24th of November; and, says Madame de Mornay, "Knowing well that he could not disguise his countenance from me, he resolved that from the first we should mingle our griefs together. 'My dear,' he said, 'God calls us to-day to manifest our faith and obedience; since He has done this, we must be silent.' At this speech, I, being full of doubts and weakened by long illness, fell into a swoon and convulsions: I could not speak for some time, and the first words that I could utter were, 'The will of God be done! We might have lost him in a duel, and then, what consolation could we have taken?' The rest may be best explained, to any person of feeling, by silence; we felt as if our bowels were torn away, our hopes cut off, and our plans and wishes frustrated; we could not for a long while talk to each other, or think within ourselves, of anything else, for he was, next to God, our only speech and thought; our daughters,

* Memoirs of Duplessis Mornay, vol. i., pp. 1-3. (Paris, 1824.)

notwithstanding the disfavour of the court, being happily married and removed with much trouble from the house, to leave it in his sole possession, thenceforward all our lines started from this centre, and returned thereto again; and we saw that, in him, God had taken everything from us, doubtless that he might take us together from the world, and that we might no longer feel any regret, at whatever hour he might call us. And here it is reasonable that my book should finish by him for whom it was undertaken, that I might describe to him our pilgrimage in this life; and since it has so pleased God, he has finished his life sooner and more pleasantly. And so, if I did not fear the affliction of M. Duplessis, who, according as mine increases, makes me the more sensible of his affection, it would grieve me extremely to survive him."*

She did not survive him long. "I have no son," said Duplessis Mornay, "and, therefore, I shall soon have no wife." Six months after she had learned the death of her son, Madame de Mornay was seized with a violent illness, and died on the 15th of May, 1607, after eight days of cruel suffering. "In all this agony, M. Duplessis did not leave her; and whenever, either to pray to God for her or from the excess of his grief, he withdrew to some corner of the room, she would ask for him, and immediately give him her hand, saying a few words to show that the grief he felt on her account touched her more acutely than the pain she herself suffered."

I shall add nothing to these quotations: what words of mine could so well describe the admirable union of these two excellent persons, both of whom were finished models of piety, virtue, and good sense? Politics occupy a larger space in the life of Duplessis Mornay than in that of Colonel Hutchinson: and Duplessis Mornay holds a more prominent position in the history of his country and his time. Yet Hutchinson, whose mind was chimerical as well as sincere, allowed himself to be drawn, by politics, into the lowest vortex of factions and revolutions. Duplessis Mornay, on the contrary, constantly resisted their influence, in spite of all the causes and temptations which seemed likely to subject him to their sway. This inflexible Protestant, who had con-

* Memoirs of Duplessis Mornay, vol. i., pp. 486-493.

tributed as largely as any man to raise Henry IV. to the throne—who, next to Sully, had enjoyed the largest share of the confidence of his king—who bitterly deplored Henry IV.'s abandonment of his faith, and who braved all dangers and disgraces that he might preserve and maintain his own—Mornay, though discontented, melancholy, banished from the court, and assailed by the discontents and sufferings of his cause and his friends, never entered into any faction or intrigue against a king whom he blamed, and of whom he had great cause to complain; but remained, on the contrary, unshaken in his fidelity to him, and was incessantly occupied in maintaining or restoring a little order and peace in the Protestant Church of France, and in promoting mutual confidence and friendship between Henry IV. and his Protestant subjects. Mornay was ardently devoted to his religious faith, but his devotedness to his faith never made him forget his duty to his country, or to his king, who had preserved his country from ruin. He continued firmly and actively attached to his belief, but did not fall under the yoke of any fixed and exclusive idea; preserved his patriotic good sense as well as his fervent piety, and endured, with melancholy firmness, the anger of his friends and the ingratitude of his king. His life was laborious and full of sorrow, effort and misapprehension; but it is worthy to serve as an example to men of honesty and sense in times of civil discord and revolution.

Madame de Mornay was at once similar and superior to Mrs. Hutchinson. She resembled her in her domestic affections and virtues, and in her fervent piety; she excelled her, not in mental gifts, but in rectitude of judgment and moral gravity. Mrs. Hutchinson had a strong and lively imagination, her intellectual culture was extensive and varied, but she had a secret taste for striking adventures, both in public and private life, and a self-appreciation which led her into some errors, or, at least, gave her some airs of pedantry and vanity. Madame de Mornay was less highly educated, less brilliant, less rich in learning and art, but her good sense was stronger, and her heart more simple; there was not the least shade of romance in her feelings or desires; not the slightest vain complacency in her language regarding herself or those connected with her; for, from attempting amplification or display, she always shows less than she might, and

says less than she thinks. The most important events, when related by her, and the most powerful sentiments, when uttered by her lips, present themselves under a modified aspect, exempt from all fictitious ornament, all superfluous or premeditated display. What she says is the pure truth, reduced to its most simple expression, and related incidentally, in the measure of strict necessity, for the information and edification of that son to whom her narrative is addressed, without any other design, or any personal vanity or emotion.

Though I could bring many proofs of this difference between the characters and writings of the two ladies, I will present only one, which is sufficiently striking to demonstrate the truth of my observation. I have quoted elsewhere Mrs. Hutchinson's narrative of her first acquaintance with the colonel, and the preliminaries of their marriage; I now give Madame de Mornay's narrative of the same occurrence in her own life. She was twenty-six years of age, and had been a widow for seven years; for M. de Feuquières, whom she had married at seventeen, died eighteen months after his marriage. She happened to be at Sedan when Duplessis Mornay was there also. "M. Duplessis," she says, "continued to come to see me, and, for nearly eight months, not a day passed but we spent two or three hours together; he had even written to me since his journey to Cleves. I was then planning a visit to France on business, and wished to hasten my journey, because I feared that our familiarity would occasion evil reports. Whilst I entertained these thoughts, he declared to me that he was desirous to marry me, which I received as an honour, but nevertheless told him that he could not have my answer until I was first informed by letter of the wishes of his mother, Madame de Buhy, and his brother, M. de Buhy, that I might be assured that our marriage would be agreeable to them. . . . After having told him that I should esteem myself happy if God should permit those on whom I depended to give their consent to the matter, I requested time, before I gave him a final answer, to write to Madame de la Borde, my mother, and my other relations, that I might learn their will. So I wrote to them all that it was a matter I ardently desired; but that nevertheless I would not consent without their permission. God so showed us that He had ordained our marriage for my great benefit, that we had a reciprocal con-

sent from all those of whom we asked it. During these arrangements some time passed; and many at Sedan, seeing that M. Duplessis contrived to visit me, began to think that he intended to marry me; some even spoke to him of other matches, of rich girls and heiresses, and would have desired to be able to turn his thoughts from me elsewhere, seeing that, besides the graces he had received from God at his birth, he was destined to rise higher. But after he had opened his mouth to me, he would never lend his ear to any other proposition that was made him. Some even offered, to learn if he thought of me, in case he wished to marry me, to inform him of the true state of my affairs. But he answered that when he wanted information he would apply to myself for it, and that property was the last thing he should think of in marriage; the first was the character of the person with whom he would have to pass his life, and the fear of God and a good reputation were far beyond riches."*

The woman who spoke so simply, and with such austere reserve, of the strongest emotions which had ever filled her soul, and the most important event that had happened in her life, was as enthusiastic as she was grave; she followed her husband in all his dangers, took part in all his labours, loved for him alone, received from him alone all his joys, and died of grief at the death of their son.

I shall not carry this comparison any further; this is, I think, its essential feature. M. and Madame Duplessis Mornay were not only virtuous and pious, they were modest; and modesty is a virtue unknown to revolutionaries. This is the real and chief difference between them and Colonel Hutchinson and his wife. Revolutions are engendered by men of presumption, and beget presumption. Even the best revolutionaries have a vain confidence in themselves, and in all they think and desire, which urges them blindly along the course they have chosen, and shuts their eyes to everything that might arrest or divert them. Modesty is a great enlightenment; it keeps the mind continually open, and renders the heart ever docile to the teachings of truth. M. and Madame Duplessis Mornay, as Christians, and strangers to every revolutionary feeling and action, possessed this precious safeguard of good sense and virtue. Colonel and Mrs. Hutchinson did not possess it, for, though Christians,

* Memoirs of Duplessis Mornay, vol. i., pp. 86-89.

they were revolutionaries. Hence arose their blindness, their infatuation, and their misfortunes, which, though worthy of sympathy, were natural, and, I say it with sorrow, deserved. The world, and, if I may be permitted to speak with reverence of the supreme justice, God himself is severe in punishing the faults of the good. They have no right to complain: it is an honour to be thus treated.

SIR THOMAS HERBERT.

[1605—1682.]

In the fact that great men monopolise the interest of history we see one of the chief causes of its errors and omissions. Not only is it true that history cares little for any but great men, but it is from them, their ideas, feelings, conduct, and life, that it describes and estimates the character of the mass, and the general condition of society. This test is not infallible. Men of superior powers, who have taken the lead in their age, are not always the most faithful representatives of that age; they give us no adequate conception of the state of the people who surround them. That which constitutes superiority in an individual is precisely his native originality, strongly-marked individuality which prevents us from identifying him with the multitude whom he influences. Doubtless he is united to his age by an infinite number of ties and relationships; doubtless his nature is conformed to the same type and confesses the same sympathies as belong to those who follow in his train; were it not so, how could they follow him? Originality which should divorce the individual from the sympathies of his time would not elevate, but isolate him. The great man, however, possesses the same ideas, impressions, wants, as those which belong to the people below him; but events do not affect him as they do the majority of mankind. Occupying a position different from that which they can command, his judgment is different from theirs; and that originality which gives him his power, at the same time prevents him from being a just expression of the condition of the masses—a perfect mirror of his nation, his epoch, his party.

Far be it from me to deny to great men any portion of that

honour and supremacy which justly belongs to them. They are the strength and glory of humanity, which must find at once its safety and its dignity in learning to appreciate, respect, and follow them; but in order to become acquainted with an age or a people we must also know something of its second-rate and obscure men. The history of the people, properly so called, is that of men whose life is without event; it is in the beliefs, sentiments, and lot of unimportant individuals and unknown families, that the lot, the sentiments, and the beliefs of the country are to be found; here must we look for the vicissitudes of its opinions and affections, and all the changes in its moral and material existence. We are ignorant of the real nature of events, their causes as well as their effects, so long as no record or memorial is found to transport us into the midst of this unknown public which seems to be recognised only as the stage on which these events are transacted, but which, especially in modern times, influences their course in a manner sooner or later decisive.

Sir Thomas Herbert was not, at first among the Presbyterian party, nor afterwards at the court of Charles I., a man entirely obscure. But he did not distinguish himself there by his talents or by his aptitude for business; neither his career nor his character were marked by any brilliant striking features; he was but little removed from the crowd; and if he had not, by accident rather than choice, taken part in the events which are related in his Memoirs, hardly any trace would have been left of him.

He was born at York, in 1605, and was connected with the illustrious family of the Herberts, Earls of Pembroke. Early in life he found a patron in William, Earl of Pembroke, and head of that house, who furnished him with the means of undertaking a long journey in Asia and Africa, of which, on his return, young Herbert published an account.* The death of his protector, which occurred soon after his arrival in London, did not alter his circumstances; Philip, Earl of Pembroke, showed him the same kindness as his predecessor had done. Engaged in the service of the Parliamentary party, to which he remained attached on account of his aversion to

* "Some years' travels into divers parts of Asia and Africa; describing especially the two famous empires, the Persian and Great Mogul (1626)." It appeared in London in 1634, folio, illustrated. It was reprinted four times between 1634 and 1677.

episcopacy, Thomas Herbert was employed, during the civil war, sometimes as commissary of Fairfax's army, sometimes in some of the negotiations which were entered into with the royal party, such as referred to the lesser incidents of the war, not to the great political interests in agitation. He had filled various posts of this kind when, in 1646, he accompanied the Earl of Pembroke and the other commissioners, whom the Long Parliament sent to carry its proposals to Charles I., that the Scots should give him up. What happened to Herbert at this time; how he left the service of the Parliament, and became (as valet-de-chambre) attached to the person of Charles, who had been deprived of his old servants; the respect and affection which he conceived for the prince, and his devotedness to him; the minor details of their common life up to the period of Charles's execution,—all these facts are related in the Memoirs with a dignified simplicity, without any design of exalting himself, or of attributing to his own actions any political importance. They are the sentiments which a man might entertain who had, from infancy, been devoted to the cause and person of the king.

It was not till 1678 that Sir Thomas Herbert was accidentally induced to publish his Memoirs, under the title of "Threnodia Carolina." Parliament was about to vote 70,000*l.* for the erection of a monument to Charles I. The celebrated antiquary, Sir William Dugdale, wrote to Sir Thomas Herbert, asking him if he had ever heard the late king mention any place where he would wish to be buried. The answer sent by Herbert contained so many curious and hitherto unknown particulars, that Sir William Dugdale requested him to write an account of the last two years of Charles's life. Herbert sent, about the same time, to Anthony Wood, author of the "Athenæ Oxonienses," a detailed account of the trial and death of the king. These letters, when collected, were published as Herbert's Memoirs. They were read with avidity, and have been often since reprinted. They are analogous, both as to the nature of the facts which they relate and the position of the author to the "Journal de ce qui s'est passé au Temple," written by Cléry, valet-de-chambre to Louis XVI.; but although scenes of an equally melancholy character are related in the two narratives with a similarly real and unaffected tenderness, that of Herbert is infinitely less dramatic and pathetic than that of

Cléry. The depth of suffering into which Charles I. was plunged is far less than that endured by Louis XVI. and his family. Herbert had taken it for granted that the misfortunes which he had seen could not be surpassed, and that he had exhausted the catalogue of sufferings in the exhibition of Charles's calamities. I will only indicate two features in this deplorable comparison. Though vanquished, dethroned, condemned, executed, Charles I. remained king up to the last hour of his life; recognised as such by the English people, by his judges, by his executioner. The gross outrages which attended the last scenes of his life were isolated acts, and, we may say, comparatively rare; as he retained his own self-respect, so he retained a kind of courteous treatment at the hands of his enemies, who did not add disgrace to their injustice by wanton insolence. Further, Charles was alone in his imprisonment and condemnation; he mounted the scaffold alone. Neither his wife nor his children fell, after him, into a yet more calamitous condition, and into the hands of still more remorseless executioners. Charles I. experienced the extremity of misfortune as a king; but Louis XVI. and his family drained the cup of *human* woe. The narrative of Herbert fills the mind with a feeling intensely sad, but serious and calm; that of Cléry, on the other hand, overwhelms us with indignation and compassion.

The publication of the "Threnodia Carolina" took place a few years before the death of Sir Thomas Herbert. There is no evidence that he took any part in public affairs after the Restoration. Charles II. had conferred on him the title of baronet, in 1660; and he lived at York, entirely occupied in historical researches into the antiquities of his country. Among other things, he assisted Sir William Dugdale in the composition of the "Monasticon Anglicanum." He died on the 1st of March, 1682, after having given to the public libraries of Oxford and York Minster manuscripts which, it is said, give evidence of considerable erudition.

We may regard Sir Thomas Herbert as the type of a large class of estimable men of his time, who were driven into opposition by the vices of the government and court of Charles I., and who were induced to return to Charles by the vices and evils of the revolution. When the chiefs of the Parliament of 1640, after having bravely exposed themselves to danger in a cause which was truly the cause of the

country, allowed themselves afterwards to undertake, at their own risk, and to gratify their own passions, a contest which was directly opposed to the general sentiments and interests of the English people, the attention of the people was again turned towards their king; and disinterested men who, like Herbert, had served, up to that point, in the Parliamentary ranks, then passed over with the same disinterestedness to the ranks of the enemy. In these successive changes in the views of citizens who were strangers to political activity—caused by the conduct of the principal actors—we shall find that which can alone be truly called the public history of revolutions.

JOHN PRICE,

CHAPLAIN TO MONK.

[. . . .—1691.]

WHOEVER has taken any part in events which have decided the destinies of nations, is at first struck with the contrast, so often presented, between the grandeur of the spectacle and the insignificance of those who move in it. The contrast is still more remarkable when the event contemplated is already ancient, and can be known only by reading and study. The reader who gives himself up to this study with a somewhat serious attention, soon forgets that the actors on the scene which he contemplates are no longer living and speaking; he transports himself into the midst of those bygone periods, sees them, listens to them, identifies himself with them in feeling, and thought, and interest; and before his busy fancy, great and small all resume their position, and act over again the drama of their life. But as soon as he seeks a more intimate acquaintance with these shadows—as soon as he attempts to learn what they have been and done apart from the place which they occupy in the annals of history, instantly the illusion vanishes, and a multitude of individuals disappear. In vain does he search chronicles, biographies, dictionaries; hardly a word or a line is to be found that will bring to light any circumstance in the life of most of those who were, a short time since, so vividly before him; they have appeared but for a moment in the rapid

course of events, as they move onward to the future; with this exception they are entirely lost; time has not considered them of sufficient importance to perpetuate their memories; and when history has thus incidentally mentioned their names, it seems as if it only wished to grant them a peaceable dismissal to that oblivion in which the particulars of their personal existence are involved.

The Memoirs of John Price, chaplain to Monk, are certainly the most curious and authentic documents extant relating to the restoration of Charles II., and the share which Monk had in bringing it about. It is impossible to read them without being forced into an acknowledgment of their value and evident veracity. A short paragraph in the "Fasti" of the University of Oxford contains, however, the only information which I have been able to procure concerning the life of John Price; no English biographies which I have consulted contain even his name. I do not wonder at this; apart from the influence which, in the privacy of domestic life, Price was able to exert over the determinations of Monk, in 1659, he had no share in those events. Born in the Isle of Wight at an uncertain date, educated at Eton, there is no trace of his existence till the time when Monk, then in Scotland, chose him as his chaplain. He himself tells us that he should never have held such an office had not his father been ruined in the service of the king; whence it appears that his family, at the outbreak of the political disturbances, belonged to the Cavalier party. This is apparent also from the fact that some of the Presbyterians warned Monk that he had selected a Cavalier as his chaplain. But it was not without design that Monk had made such a choice. Indifferent, or nearly so, to the distinctions of religious as to those of political parties, he was unwilling to destroy the relationships which bound him to the party which he originally served, to which, in his deepest sympathies, he was all along attached, and whose return he foresaw. If Price was a Cavalier, Gumble, Monk's other chaplain, was a Presbyterian, who co-operated as willingly in the general's machinations by which he was preparing for the Restoration.

When this event appeared above the horizon, the time had passed in which men, governed by fixed beliefs and energetic passions, had sought a basis for union or separation only in

general principles or party attachments. Sagacity for personal interests, foresight of the future, good sense not fettered to any political creed or combination, had been substituted for the spring of enthusiasm and the unflinching consistency of sect and faction. When revolutions thus come to look upon their principles with distrust, and to doubt their power, union exists between individuals alone; parties quickly dissolve and commingle; opinions which were formerly the standards of adverse sects are no longer the occasions of disunion or aversion; and individuals care to form only those personal connexions which shall secure them adherents or protectors, when the events which they foresee shall have been accomplished.

Such was, in 1659, the state of mind in England. Monk offered to those who considered themselves unbiassed, a chief as unbiassed as they;—they rallied around him with the more confidence in proportion as he conducted himself towards them with reserve, and showed himself indifferent to, and removed from, any engagements or convictions. Cavaliers, Presbyterians, or Independents, members of the Parliament and of the army, those who desired the Restoration or considered it inevitable, hastened to adopt Monk as their patron; "for he was a man," said his own soldiers, "in whose steps we may follow with safety." Price's Memoirs, in fact, give us a great idea of Monk's ability and prudence. They afford a lively and accurate description of a great political manœuvre carried on by a single man, whose constant aim was, without compromising any existing interest, to leave to its own gradual accomplishment an event foreseen by all, but of which no one dared or was willing to speak before the day of success. England still regards, not without reason, the reigns of Charles II. and James II. as one of the saddest periods of history. Yet it is no less true that, in 1660, the follies and crimes of the revolution had rendered the restoration of the Stuart a national necessity. Monk was the clearsighted interpreter of an almost universal wish, and at the same time an instrument in fulfilling that decree of Providence which ordains that, before a nation shall receive the blessing which it seeks for by disorder, it should bear the penalty of those evils which disorder has produced.

After the return of Charles II., Price enjoyed his share of the favours heaped upon Monk and his dependents by the

king. On the 10th of May, 1660, he was appointed to preach at Westminster, before the House of Commons, a thanksgiving sermon in honour of the Restoration. A short time after he was nominated member of Eton College; subsequently he obtained a lucrative prebend connected with Salisbury Cathedral, and lastly the valuable rectory of Petworth, in Sussex. It was not until 1680, about ten years after the death of Monk, that he published his Memoirs.* In his dedication to the Earl of Bath, he mentions the inducements by which he was led to publish. Those who wished to appropriate to themselves all the benefits of the Restoration, wished also to monopolise the credit of having accomplished it. Monk's chaplain was justly indignant at the ingratitude of the Royalists to the memory of his former patron, and the "Life of Monk," by his other chaplain, Gumble, was dictated by the same feeling. Monk had doubtless shown greater fidelity in his personal relations than in his political alliances, for his dependents remained constant in their attachment to him. A sermon, preached at Petworth on the 9th of September, 1683, to give thanks to Heaven for the discovery of the Rye-House Plot, is the last trace we have of Price's continued existence. Nevertheless, he lived long enough to see the Restoration bend in its turn under the weight of that tyranny which it vainly attempted to impose upon England. He died in June, 1691, three years after the expulsion of James II. He probably remained a Cavalier; but the English nation had changed its opinion, and if Monk had been in 1688 what he was in 1660, his good sense would doubtless have led him to coincide with the nation.

EDWARD HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON.

LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND.

[1608—1674.]

I HAVE no intention of relating the life of Lord Clarendon, it is written already in the events of history and in his own works. There is no man, if we except Cromwell, who has occupied a more prominent position in English history; no one

* Entitled "The Mystery and Method of his Majesty's happy Restoration."

who has so carefully handed down his own history in that of his time.

Posterity has done him full justice; if his name is mentioned in his own country it is always as "the Great Earl of Clarendon," and perhaps he has secured this high renown by his writings, still more than by his political career. No one of those crises which determine the destiny of nations was moulded and guided by his influence; many men have served their country with as much ability and success; but there are few men who, after a long exercise of power, have yet so far preserved the depth of their convictions and their esteem of their fellow-men as to feel the want of making themselves rightly understood and appreciated after their death. Long-continued possession of greatness brings with it indifference; few aged state ministers retain any care either for the public or for truth. Clarendon however, proscribed, infirm, impoverished, without the expectation of seeing his country again, held firmly to whatever he had said or done, and was anxious that posterity might estimate him aright. He related his life not only because he had been conspicuous in affairs and delighted to dwell on the recollections of his glory, but in order to show that he had judged and acted wisely, in order to defend and justify not only his actions but also his ideas. In pursuing this object he displayed greater sincerity, greater energy of mind, and a higher tone of moral feeling, than is usually seen in aged dignitaries who are too often shattered by disgrace and sated by the enjoyment of power.

The fact is, that Clarendon possessed and retained that which is so frequently wanting or soon lost in positions of eminence and activity—determinate opinions and a faith in duty. He was often mistaken, and committed or allowed many iniquities, but truth and honour were not in his eyes mere shadows. In the midst of a revolution and in the heart of a court, he more than once obeyed those stern and disinterested convictions which regulate the thinking of a philosopher and the conduct of an upright citizen. This is the explanation of that unquestioned superiority which has assigned to him a place peculiarly his own among great statesmen, and has succeeded in giving to his memory a greater estimation than his political weight and personal influence on the government of his country would otherwise justify.

When the Long Parliament met, Clarendon was among

those who, sensible of the real grievances of the nation, were anxious that they should be redressed. In spite of his relations to Archbishop Laud and his well-known zeal on behalf of the Established Church, he joined himself to the Opposition. But with a mind characterised rather by pertinacity than comprehensiveness, and a character severe rather than generous, he believed that a respect for laws already in existence would amply meet the rights of the public, and that no new guarantees were required in order to secure respect for these ancient laws. Convinced that the government ought to reform its conduct, a reform of the government itself never entered his thoughts; he therefore misapprehended, at the very outset, the true necessities of England at this crisis, and the real tendency of the national mind. The day had come when abuses could only be remedied by bold innovations; and Clarendon, on his entrance into public life, was equally hostile to abuses and innovations.

The more the revolution advanced, the more confirmed did he become in his misapprehensions—the more did his opinions seem legitimate. The innovations which arose were often mistaken and excessive. The mistakes offended Clarendon's good sense, the excesses shocked his moral sensibility. He gave himself up from that time to the royal cause, repeatedly maintaining that it was the cause of Old England—of the ancient and excellent constitution of the country.

When, after the expiration of twenty years of lawless triumph, Charles II. ascended the throne, Clarendon regarded the revolution as a failure:—it had trampled on justice, it had issued in defeat; the success of its opponents was complete, Providence had declared itself on their side.

Clarendon did not take any part in the struggle between James II. and his country, in which Providence uttered its final decree; but he lived long enough to witness the dissipation of the hopes and illusions which he had entertained for his cause, as, before him, the Presbyterians, the Independents, and all the revolutionary parties had in their turn experienced the same disappointment.

Raised in 1660, by the revolution, to a pinnacle of power, Clarendon received it with a rooted dislike of all that had transpired during the preceding twenty years, and with the determination to restore all things in State and Church as nearly as possible to that position in which the revolution

had found them. New men and individual interests appeared to him alone entitled to attention or regard. With reference to institutions and laws, it was only necessary, in his opinion, to restore what had been lost. James I. and Charles I., it is true, had used the royal prerogative imprudently, and often unjustly, and it was fitting to avoid their faults; but still it ought to be restored unimpaired; twenty years of struggle and suffering were to be endured by the English people, and issue in nothing but a tardy avowal of its crimes and its errors.

Such was, and continued to be, Clarendon's theory; but his probity and good sense did not allow him to conform his practice to his theory. Every day brought him into collision with new features of national life; every day showed that a just deference to the claims of men could only be gained by a compromise of things. He adopted, on principle, most of the prejudices and pretensions of the old Royalist party; but, when he came to apply them, facts met him which he had not foreseen, and compelled him to uphold what he had promised to extirpate; and thus the first minister under Charles II., reinstated together with his master after fifteen years of absence, was soon the patron of revolutionary interests, and the abhorred adversary of the court and the Cavaliers.

This position, which brought misery and downfal to Clarendon, has since been his glory. He supported it with ability and courage. Often inconsistent and unjust towards the national party, he was, towards his own, decided, firm, and even virtuous. A severe censor of the dissipated habits of Charles II.; avowedly Protestant, notwithstanding his dislike of the Presbyterians, in an ungodly or secretly Catholic court; grave and upright in the midst of unprincipled and frivolous courtiers; attached to the ancient laws of the country, though utterly opposed to the new spirit of liberty; restrained from extravagance by a sense of reason, though his disposition was naturally hard, and even vindictive; he continually opposed his influence to that spirit of turbulence, that wanton and capricious tyranny to which the government of England was at that time incessantly led by the vices of the king and the passions of the Cavaliers. When he had left his country the great Chancellor could not subdue the evil genius of the Restoration, nor did the thought of so doing even enter into his mind; his object was, as attached

to ancient English laws, to oppose the corruptions of his party with all the power, ability, and virtue, which he possessed.

After seven years his virtue became too troublesome, his ability was no longer needed,—his merits and his faults alike conspired against him, and he lost his power. Every one used his influence to promote his downfal; the national party would not sustain him, the king was glad to be rid of him. When Clarendon had with difficulty obtained in France an asylum from the ingratitude of his master and the hatred of his enemies, living in sadness, though undisturbed, at Montpelier, at Moulins, at Rouen, he abandoned every undertaking, except that of transmitting to posterity an accurate account of his times and himself. "The History of the Great Rebellion," and the "Memoirs of his Private Life and Ministry,"* occupied the seven remaining years of his life. He brought to his literary occupations the same notions, the same feelings, and almost the same kind of ability as he had shown in his public career; and his writings correspond singularly with his actions. Consistency, perhaps even immobility, was probably the distinguishing feature of his mind. His opinions and character on his entrance into public life were those which he carried with him when he left it; in him reason had outstripped experience; experience neither enlarged his mind nor gave elevation to his ideas; his antipathy to all innovation was more than a principle, it possessed his whole nature—a nature which was wise, upright, well harmonised, but frigid, inflexible, limited, a stranger to strong spiritual impulses and high intellectual ambition. He had that proud sense of wisdom and integrity, which, when it is not the attribute of a large and powerful genius, is the parent of narrow views and unyielding prejudices. A juris-consult and theologian, he paid regard to rules and forms, but disdained principles —not from any contempt for truth, but because questions of a general and fundamental character never entered into the

* "The History of the Great Rebellion" was first printed at London, in 1702, 3 vols., folio, and has been often reprinted since. Many passages were suppressed in the first editions, several of which may appear falsifications; but the text has been completely restored in the edition published at Oxford, in 1845, according to the original manuscripts deposited in the library at Oxford. The "Memoirs of the Private Life" of Lord Clarendon appeared, for the first time, in 1759, under the title of "Continuation of the History of the Great Rebellion." The best edition is that published at Oxford, in 1837.

region of his thoughts. In spite of his sternness and inflexibility, he possessed some capacity for intrigue, and defended himself with adroitness against the plots of the court. His works have been blamed for reserve and even falsehood; and doubtless they are not entirely free from these faults, especially the "History of the Great Rebellion," written in a more official manner than the "Memoirs." But considering his position, Clarendon has, on the whole, the merit of sincerely aiming at impartiality; and if he has shown this in his judgment of persons much more than in his representations of public feeling and events, it is because the structure of his mind fitted him to appreciate and understand men better than nations.

More than once during his exile, Clarendon asked permission, which was always refused, to return and live in obscurity in England. On the near approach of death the desire of revisiting his native country became a melancholy and passionate longing in the heart of this old man, who had sincerely loved and laboriously served it. He established himself at Rouen in order to be nearer the soil of England; and from thence, as a last attempt, he wrote in the following manner to Charles II.:—"Seven years was a time prescribed and limited by God himself for the expiation of some of his greatest judgments, and it is full that time since I have with all possible humility sustained the insupportable weight of the king's displeasure. Since it will be in nobody's power long to prevent me from dying, methinks the desiring a place to die in should not be thought a great presumption."*

Charles II., insensible to any emotion of gratitude, offered a cold refusal to these entreaties of a man who had devoted to him his life. His refusal was not dictated by the fear of any hatred which courtiers or his people might entertain for Clarendon, but by the desire to spare himself the annoyance of feeling that in England, perhaps within a few leagues of his residence, there resided a faithful servant and an old friend whom he had basely abandoned. Clarendon died at Rouen on the 7th of December, 1674; his greatest honour now is that he often resisted that contemptible king whom, in his last days, he vainly attempted to move.

* Clarendon Papers, iii., Supp. xliv.; Campbell's Lives of the Chancellors, vol. iii., p. 257.

HENRY HYDE, EARL OF CLARENDON.

[1638—1709.]

During his exile on the continent, while attending upon Charles II., as he wandered in poverty from one country to another, according as their governments were at peace or at war with Cromwell, the great Earl of Clarendon, who was as yet nothing but plain Edward Hyde, unable probably to pay for a secretary, did not wish, or could not find any other to act as such, except his eldest son, Henry Hyde, then seventeen years of age. He was born on the 2nd of June, 1638, just at the time when the murmurs of that storm were beginning to be heard which was to cause his father a life of care and agitation. In early life he was made to share in labour and vicissitude. It was in 1655 that Edward Hyde, then Chancellor of the Exchequer for the proscribed king, began that vast correspondence with Spain, France, and the Lower Countries, as well as with England, from which he probably expected little, but which at least preserved to his master the shadow of royalty, and to himself the shadow of an honourable connexion with royalty. In this correspondence young Henry Hyde acted as secretary; he employed his days in writing in cipher, or in deciphering letters, and he displayed in these somewhat tedious employments a discretion and intelligence which won for him the fullest confidence of his father. It appears even that more than once the Chancellor left to him the care of answering, as he judged suitable, the secret communications which reached him from England.

When, in 1660, the restoration of Charles II. had justified the anticipations of the Chancellor, and rewarded his fidelity, his son Henry, the companion of his good fortune as he had been of his reversals, married Theodosia, daughter of the illustrious and unfortunate Lord Capel; and soon afterwards, in 1662, after the marriage of Charles II. with the Infanta of Portugal, was appointed chamberlain to the queen. We may wonder that the Lord Chancellor, instead of seeking for his eldest son important political offices, should be contented with his obtaining a situation at court; and this circumstance suggests a doubt whether he had a very high opinion of the qualifications of his son Henry. Other facts give further reason for this doubt. Bishop Burnet, while doing full justice

to the discretion and fidelity which Henry Clarendon had shown during exile, in the capacity of secretary to his father, says, "His judgment was not much to be depended upon, for he was much carried by vulgar prejudices and false notions. . . . And the king always spoke of him with great sharpness and much scorn." The English editor of Lord Henry Clarendon's Memoirs bestows much pains in confuting this testimony; and it may be that the animosity of Burnet against the opponents of the revolution of 1688 had some share in producing this opinion. There is, however, no indication that the talents of Lord Henry Clarendon deserved any very high esteem; nor that, if he had had a different name, he would have obtained any importance in his time, or any place in history.

In 1667, at the time of his father's disgrace, he was member of the House of Commons, and he entered into the Opposition ranks without losing the situation which he occupied under the queen. His name frequently appears in the Parliamentary debates of that period; and if his speeches have in them nothing remarkable, they at all events prove that he had neither surrendered his mental freedom nor sold himself to the court,—a rare merit at that time, especially for a man devoted to the Stuarts by descent, and a courtier by position. In 1674 he became Earl of Clarendon, on the death of his banished father, and continued, in the House of Lords, to vote with the Opposition; with sufficient moderation, however, to keep a way of reconciliation with the court always open. He was one of those upright men who, without boldness or foresight, mourn over the afflictions of their country, but dread still more the remedies for them; who wish they could reform power without ever offending it, nor wresting from it any of those rights which they confess it abuses. Such had been, in reality, though with far more mental elevation and vigour, the politics of the Lord Chancellor Clarendon; we meet with it again in his son, stripped of the talent which graced it, and also without the plausible reasons which, fifteen years before, the excesses of the revolution afforded for it. Towards the close of the reign of Charles II. the vices of the government were the chief grounds for alarm and antagonism; Henry Clarendon did not approve of them; but when England showed itself determined no longer to submit to such rule, when the struggle between the country and the court

assumed a definite and serious character, he took the side of the court party.

In 1680, the favour of the Duke of York procured for him a place in the privy council, and he was one of the number who rejected the famous Bill of Exclusion. He was also one of the councillors whose dismission was demanded by the House of Commons on the 7th of January, 1681.

In 1685, the accession of James II. redoubled the fears of all who were friendly to the civil and religious liberties of their country. Lord Henry Clarendon, who sympathised with these fears, was nevertheless the object of the new king's favours, as James wished to reward him for having opposed the Bill of Exclusion. He accepted the reward, and was first appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, afterwards Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland. There he became acquainted with the whole extent of the designs that were being formed against England. Sincerely attached to the Established Church, and respecting, if not the liberties, yet at all events the laws of his country, he saw the government of James II. direct all its efforts towards the establishment of Catholicism and absolute power, and alternately using the one as a means to advance the other. He conducted himself with as much honesty as his position allowed, writing with frankness to the king or his ministers, representing to them the danger as well as the unconstitutional nature of their proceedings, and endeavouring to diminish their criminality or ward off the effect of them, but without ever entertaining the thought of formally refusing concurrence in them. When a spirit of servility has taken possession of a man, his good sense, and even his moral integrity become useless to him; he sees the danger and advances onwards to it; he observes the evil and lends himself to it; he has lost the free disposal of his own conduct, he serves the projects which he abhors, and is ruined with the infatuated men whom he has warned. If James II., annoyed by the continual remonstrances and the timidity of the Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, had not recalled him and substituted Tyrconnel, an avowed Papist, Lord Henry Clarendon would never have thought of retiring upon his own accord, and the revolution of 1688 would have found him in the service of a power to which he could never give his approval.

When Lord Clarendon returned to England in the begin-

ning of 1687, he gained in private life a little of that independence which he would never possess by native force of character: he has himself related his life from that period: to the details which are contained in his journal, referring to his own conduct as well as to the general events of his time, nothing need be added. On the approach and during the course of the revolution of 1688 he was what he had always been—an honest nobleman and sincere Protestant, convinced that the Established Church ought to be saved and the government of the king reformed; disposed even to accept, in order to obtain a better chance of success, the assistance of the Prince of Orange and the insurrection, but full of nervous apprehension, inclined to halt with indignation as soon as, in order to accomplish the work, the axe was laid to the root of that corrupt tree which, often as it had been assailed, had never ceased to increase. We may smile at the credulity with which he went forth to meet the Prince of Orange, flattering himself that he would confine himself to the office of mediating between James II. and his people; but, the revolution of 1688 once accomplished, we must honour the fidelity which Lord Clarendon showed towards the dethroned monarch; a fidelity the more creditable in that it alienated him from the court to which he was attached, and that, after having quitted the court, he took no active part in the plots of the Jacobites, convinced at once that he was interdicted from serving a new master, and from disturbing the repose of his country, in order to recal a power which he had found to be mischievous whilst he believed it to be legitimate. He died on the 22nd of October, 1709, on his estate at Cornbury.

In 1763, the papers which Lord Henry Clarendon had left, on his death, were published at London, in two volumes, quarto. His correspondence with James II. and his ministers, during his government of Ireland, forms the greatest part of this publication; it is worth reading, but its interest is of an entirely special character, and confined to the affairs of Ireland. The Journal of Lord Henry Clarendon, on the contrary, is one of the most lively and truthful documents which have reached us relating to the revolution of 1688; nowhere can we better trace from step to step, through the familiar and daily details of a nobleman's life, the rapid progress of that memorable event, conducted at first by a few

individuals as a conspiracy and an intrigue, but sustained and consummated by the expressed concurrence of the English people, and which has established in England that noble form of government to which it has owned, for more than a hundred and fifty years, its peace as well as its liberties, its welfare as well as its renown.

GILBERT BURNET, BISHOP OF SALISBURY.

[1643—1715.]

Revolutions commence with infatuation and end with incredulity. In their origin proud assurance is dominant; the ruling opinion disdains doubt, and will not endure contradiction: at their completion scepticism takes the place of proud disdain; there is no longer any care for individual convictions nor any belief in truth. Such is the sad condition of man—faith blinds him and experience corrupts him.

Nevertheless—and this secures the honour as well as the safety of humanity—some minds are always to be found in these grand epochs who escape both these evils; who, in the blind impetuousness of the first period preserve freedom of thought, and, in the unmanly incredulity of the second, retain fixed and sincere convictions. These are minds of a superior order, whatever may be their defects, who know how to trust in truth without forgetting the weakness of man, and to distrust the feeble powers of man without ceasing to believe in the omnipotence of truth.

Bishop Burnet is one of these men. Perhaps he owed this happiness to the favourable combination of circumstances which attended his youth. He was born on the 18th of September, 1643, at Edinburgh, of an ancient and reputable family in the county of Aberdeen, and was brought up in the midst of political parties without being prematurely engaged with or hastily plunged into any. His father, a learned juris-consult, was a sincere and moderate Royalist; his mother was a zealous Presbyterian, and Lord Waristoun, his uncle, was one of the most vehement opponents of Charles I. Burnet thus learned, from his infancy, to understand the language, and perhaps also at different times to sym-

pathise with the aims and sentiments of the most opposite parties. He says of himself: "As I had been bred up by my father to love liberty and moderation, so I spent the greatest part of the year 1664 in Holland and France, which contributed not a little to root and fix me in those principles. I saw much peace and quiet in Holland, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions amongst them, which was occasioned by the gentleness of the government, and the toleration that made all people easy and happy."*

If the persons from whom Burnet had received in his youth so many contrary impressions had been, like so many others, undeceived and corrupted by events, he would, perhaps, have learned to respect no opinion, and, pursuing fortune only disdainfully, to ridicule all regard for principle. But the different convictions in the midst of which he lived and grew from 1643 to 1660, during the course of the first revolution, were and always continued serious and disinterested; so that he yielded them respect without succumbing to their authority, and that while his ideas were enlarged, he was never, even in his most ordinary and intimate relationships, induced to treat with suspicion or scorn any true earnestness and faith.

From the restoration of Charles II. to the fall of James II., Burnet's life was active and busy, and was spent in close connexion with great personages and great events without being involved in their destinies. He has given a minute account of it in his "History of his own Time." At first sight this narrative does not give us that impression concerning the author which I have just indicated; we are even tempted, in reading it, to render him, if not a small share of esteem, yet certainly but little attention. He appears fickle, restless, awkward, indiscreet, continually meddling in intrigues, at one time with the popular party at another time with the court, familiarly connected with men on whose conduct he bestows the greatest blame, keeping up in order to gratify his vanity relationships the most opposed to his convictions, inconsiderate in his movements and in his language, setting no bounds to his activity, which is often without an aim, and of a character as little becoming the superiority of his mind as the dignity of his position. These were, so to speak, the exterior faults in Burnet's character, and he has taken no

* Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i., p. 207, folio edition.

pains to conceal them. But when we regard him more closely, another man appears and shows himself. Burnet's religious opinions are those of the Episcopalians, and yet we cannot find in him any of the vivid and arrogant passions of the bishops; his political principles are those of the Presbyterians, but he is a stranger to their narrow views, their insurmountable prejudices, their puerile and obstinate antipathies. He is familiar with a number of licentious noblemen, while his true friends, the only ones to whom he remained permanently attached whatever might be their condition, are the most upright men of the time. His life is full of intrigues and vicissitudes, yet nowhere can we perceive that he has yielded or changed in his principles, and his disinterestedness manifests itself on all occasions when his fortune might have been completed by the sacrifice of his freedom; he refuses to be a bishop as long as bishops are made the instruments of tyranny; he preaches tolerance to persecutors and reason to fanatics. Charles II. and his brother, the Duke of York, treated him with favour,—he told them the truth: the favour of the princes is withdrawn,—he speaks of them without disguise, but without anger. Sometimes his language would lead us to believe that the vices of the court were not displeasing to him; yet his manners are quite pure, and the thought which remains with him and governs him, in his familiar intercourse with Charles II., is how he may most impressively represent to the king the faults which have brought disorders into his kingdom, and induce him to return to virtue. "I had reason to believe," says Burnet, in 1681, "that he (the king) was highly displeased with me for what I had done a year before. Mrs. Roberts, whom he kept for some time, sent for me when she was a-dying: I saw her often for some weeks, and, among other things, I desired her to write a letter to the king, expressing the sense she had of her past life: and at her desire I drew such a letter as might be fit for her to write; but she never had strength enough to write it: so upon that I resolved to write a very plain letter to the king: I set before him his past life, and the effects it had on the nation, with the judgments of God that lay on him, which was but a small part of the punishment he might look for: I pressed upon him that earnestly to change the whole course of his life: I carried this letter to Chiffinch's,* on the 29th of

* Valet-de-chambre to Charles II.

January, and told the king in the letter that I hoped the reflections on what had befallen his father on the 30th of January might move him to consider these things more carefully. Lord Arran happened to be then in waiting, and he came to me the next day, and told me he was sure the king had a long letter from me, for he held the candle to him while he read it; he knew at all that distance that it was my hand. The king read it twice over, and then threw it into the fire; and, not long after, Lord Arran took occasion to name me, and the king spoke of me with great sharpness, so he perceived that he was not pleased with my letter.* Nor was the king pleased with my being sent for by Wilmot, Earl of Rochester, when he died: he fancied that he had told me many things of which I might make an ill use; yet he had read the book that I writ concerning him, and spoke well of it. In this state I was in the king's thoughts when Lord Halifax carried me to him, and introduced me with a very extraordinary compliment, that he did not bring me to the king to put me in his good opinion so much as to put the king in my good opinion,—and added, he hoped the king would not only take me into his favour, but into his heart. The king had a peculiar faculty of saying obliging things with a very good grace: among other things, he said he knew that, if I pleased, I could serve him very considerably, and that he desired no service from me longer than he continued true to the Church and to the law. Lord Halifax upon that added that the king knew he served him upon the same terms, and was to make his stops. The king and he fell into some discourse about religion. Lord Halifax said to the king that he was the head of the Church; to which the king answered that he did not desire to be the head of nothing, for, indeed, he was of no church. From that the king run out into much discourse about Lord Shaftesbury, who was shortly to be tried: he complained with great scorn of the imputation of subornation that was cast on himself. He said he did not wonder that the Earl of Shaftesbury, who was guilty of those practices, should fasten them on others. And he used upon that a Scot's proverb very pleasantly, 'At doomsday we shall see whose a— is blackest.' The discourse lasted half an hour

* The complete copy of this letter, which does credit to Burnet's virtue, and even reflects some honour on Charles II.'s toleration, will be found at the end of this article, p. 167.

very hearty and free, so I was in favour again. But I could not hold it. I was told I kept ill company: the persons Lord Halifax named to me were the Earl of Essex, Lord Russell, and Jones. But I said I would upon no consideration give over conversing with my friends, so I was where I was before."*

This incident gives us a faithful representation of the character of Burnet as it appeared at the court of Charles II. Under a somewhat undignified exterior, and with appearances of flippancy, we can recognise an independent spirit, a sincere heart, and one of the most upright, as well as one of the most enlightened men who have ever lived in times of political dissension, of corruption and frivolity.

When the revolution of 1688 was accomplished, Burnet, who had very actively and efficiently concurred in it, did not trouble himself further with it, except only to secure to his country its salutary results. He divided his life between the State and the Church, the House of Lords, and the bishopric of Salisbury. In both these functions he conducted himself in the same manner as he had before he obtained preferment; sometimes inconsiderately, and with too great eagerness to act, or to appear to obtain the ascendency, which he would have well employed, but always acting with probity, generosity, and consistency; faithful to his political friends, and discharging with conscientious care the duties of his bishopric; continually occupied at court in his endeavour to protect its former enemies, and the nonconformists in his diocese; discarding, both as a matter of party and of conscience, all persecution, every measure of severity, and devoting a portion of his time and of his revenue to the work of bringing up in the same sentiments the young candidates for holy orders, whom he afterwards appointed to livings. His blunders, his unrestrained speech, and also his frankness, sometimes brought upon him the contempt of the high clergy, and of William III., who rather regarded him with confidence than serious consideration. Nevertheless, whenever the English Church felt itself threatened by any danger, we cannot but acknowledge that Burnet had a good right to enforce upon the bishops the duty of tolerance, of regular residence in their diocese, of ameliorating the condition of the poorer part of the clergy; and when, in 1698, William wished to find a

* Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. i., pp. 507-508.

tutor for the young Duke of Gloucester, son of the Princess Anne, he chose Burnet; and the king had some difficulty in overcoming the conscientious scruples of the bishop, who desired either to refuse the charge which had been offered to him, or to resign his bishopric, in order to devote himself entirely to his new duties. Burnet only consented to accept this honour on conditions which allowed him to attend to both offices; and he lived thus till the 17th of March, 1715, alternately brought into difficulties by faults which did little harm to any but himself, and into honour by the talents and virtues by which his patrons and subordinates always profited more than himself. He died, after a few days' illness, of pleuritic fever, and showed, during the short continuance of his disorder, qualities which had been seldom seen during his life—the most unruffled serenity, and a perfectly conscious seriousness. He was married three times, and left behind him a large family, by whom he had been tenderly beloved.

His conversation and familiar life were characterised by a singular, and sometimes very embarrassing absence of mind. The famous Olympia Mancini, niece to Cardinal Mazarin, Countess of Soissons, Prince Eugene's mother, had been, in 1680, imprisoned in Paris on a suspicion of poisoning, excited by her connexion with Mesdames Bruivilliers and Voisin. When her son, the Prince Eugene, came over to England, towards the close of Queen Anne's reign, Burnet requested the Duke of Marlborough that he would procure him an opportunity of meeting a person whose fame resounded through all Europe. "To this the duke agreed, upon condition that Burnet would be on his guard against saying anything that might give disgust. Being accordingly invited to dine at Marlborough House, with Prince Eugene and other company, he resolved to sit silent and *incognito* during the whole entertainment. The prince, however, seeing a dignified clergyman at table, inquired who he was; and understanding he was Bishop Burnet, of whom he had often heard, he addressed his discourse to him, and asked him in particular when he was last at Paris. To this question our prelate answered with precipitation that he could not recollect the year, but that it was at the time when the Countess of Soissons was imprisoned. Scarcely had he pronounced these words when, his eyes meeting those of the Duke of Marlborough, he instantly recognised his blunder, and was so

totally deprived of all remaining discretion, that he redoubled his error by asking pardon of his highness. The conclusion was, that seeing the whole company embarrassed, and out of countenance, he retired in the utmost confusion." On another occasion, when Mr. James Lindsay, the last Earl of Balcarras, in his early youth, was introduced to Bishop Burnet by Lady Stair, the bishop, after the common compliments, asked her in the presence of a large number of people, "Pray what is become of that wicked wretch, Lady Wigton?" Now, the Countess of Wigton was the young gentleman's sister. Dr. Burnet was himself so far sensible of his weakness, that he sometimes avoided the persons whom he might offend by it. After Lady Frances Pierpoint was married to the Earl of Marr, the bishop never went to visit her, and gave Lady Stair this reason for his seeming neglect, "That he did not like Lord Marr, and could not answer for his not babbling out something with regard to him that might give offence."*

The celebrated Marquis of Halifax, the patron and friend of Burnet, amused himself with making a portraiture of him and his character, which he sent to the bishop himself, and which was found among his papers after his death. Thomas Burnet, his third son, has published this portrait at the end of the life of his father, which he wrote,† and I will do myself the pleasure of transcribing it, as it is characterised as much by truthfulness as by friendship.

"Dr. Burnet is, like all men who are above the ordinary level, seldom spoken of in a mean; he must either be railed at or admired: he has a swiftness of imagination that no other man comes up to; and as our nature hardly allows us to have enough of anything without having too much, he cannot at all times so hold in his thoughts, but that at some time they may run away with him; as it is hard for a vessel that is brimful, when in motion, not to run over; and therefore the variety of matter that he ever carries about him may throw out more than an unkind critic would allow of. His first thoughts may sometimes require more digestion, not from a defect in his judgment, but from the abundance of his fancy, which furnishes too fast for him. His friends love him too well to see small faults; or, if they do, think

* Kippis' Biographia Britannica, vol. iii., p. 33, folio. London, 1784.
† Burnet's History of his own Time, vol. ii., pp. 725-726.

that his greater talents give him a privilege of straying from the strict rules of caution, and exempt him from the ordinary rules of censure. He produces so fast, that what is well in his writings calls for admiration, and what is incorrect deserves an excuse; he may in some things require grains of allowance, which those only can deny him who are unknown or unjust to him. He is not quicker in discovering other men's faults than he is in forgiving them; so ready, or rather glad, to acknowledge his own, that from blemishes they become ornaments. All the repeated provocations of his indecent adversaries have had no other effect than the setting his good-nature in so much a better light, since his anger never went further than to pity them. That heat which in most other men raises sharpness and satire, in him glows into warmth for his friends, and compassion for those in want and misery. As dull men have quick eyes in discerning the smaller faults of those that nature has made superior to them, they do not miss one blot he makes; and being beholden only to their barrenness for their discretion, they fall into the errors which arise from his abundance, and by a mistake, into which their malice betrays them, they think that, by finding a mote in his eye, they hide the beams that are in their own. His quickness makes writing so easy a thing to him that his spirits are neither wasted nor soured by it; the soil is not forced; everything grows and brings forth without pangs, which distinguishes as much what he does from that which smells of the lamp, as a good palate will discern between fruit which comes from a rich mould, and that which tastes of the uncleanly pains that have been bestowed upon it. He makes many enemies, by setting an ill-natured example of living which they are not inclined to follow. His indifference for preferment, his contempt not only of splendour, but of all unnecessary plenty, his degrading himself unto the lowest and most painful duties of his calling, are such unprelatical qualities, that, let him be never so orthodox in other things, in these he must be a Dissenter. Virtues of such a kind are so many heresies in the opinion of those divines who have softened the primitive injunctions, so as to make them suit better with the present frailty of mankind. No wonder, then, if they are angry, since it is in their own defence; or that from a principle of self-preservation they should endeavour to suppress a

man, whose parts are a shame, and whose life is a scandal to them."

It was not till 1724 that Thomas Burnet, the bishop's third son, published the "History of his own Time." This work is divided into two parts,—the first includes the period between the accession of Charles I. to the revolution of 1688; the second part contains an account of the reigns of William III. and of Anne, as far as the year 1713. It is, in my judgment, the most instructive and truthful book that we have with reference to that period; the only one which can be considered, not as a means of discovering the truth, but as containing, or nearly so, the truth itself. In most memoirs we must disabuse our minds of the colouring under which the facts are presented, and of the conclusions of the writer; in the work of Burnet, however, except where he treats of the Catholics, the facts generally appear under their true aspect, and the conclusions of the author, whether moral or political, are just. The first revolution, from 1640 to 1660, is only sketched, and that only to serve as an introduction to the events which happened after the return of the Stuarts till their expulsion; but this short sketch gives us a lively and accurate picture of men and parties drawn by a hand which combines sagacity and just appreciation of the subject with an impartiality which we shall in vain seek for in other writers of this period. As to the restoration, there is no truth in a remark which has been often made, that it may rightly complain of the history which Burnet has left of it; he writes as a Whig, undoubtedly, but he has none of that absurd credulity, those selfish and malignant passions which belonged to his party. In spite of the somewhat gross bluntness of occasional expressions, he has treated Charles II., James II., their councillors and their friends with an equity and mildness which posterity has rarely accorded. Posterity judges a government as a whole according to its principles and results, without minutely examining in order to discover whether this or that king, this or that minister possessed certain amiable qualities, whether he had, amidst all that appears scandalous, some glimmerings of justice and good sense, if some excuse may not be found which may modify its condemnation of some of his faults; it has brought the last two Stuarts before its tribunal and condemned their memory with scorn. This is also the result to which Burnet conducts his readers; but

at the same time he allows them to see all that can moderate the severity of such a result. He has lived with the men of whom he writes: some of them have treated him with kindness; others have charmed him by the fascinations of their mind; he understands their errors, their faults, even their vices; and whatever he may say or think of them, we find always, in his feelings and in his words, that there is lurking something of that involuntary indulgence which clings to personal relationships, and which has little in common with that justice which is founded on a more exact knowledge of characters and positions. He was, in other respects, a man whose mind was free and unprejudiced,—capable of entering into the very thoughts of his enemies,—easily detached from the judgment he had formed by impartial and vivid impressions,—a stranger to blind prejudices and bitter hatreds,—whose spirit was too equitable, and whose moral feelings were too sensitive to allow himself to be blinded or enslaved by his own private opinions.

In one point alone do they pervert the natural fairness and candour of his reason,—he sometimes, in his estimate of the Catholics, partakes of the prejudices and passions of his contemporaries. We very soon perceive this in the "History of his own Time," when he gives his account of the famous Popish plot; and more clearly in his "History of the Reformation of the Church of England." This last work, of which the first volume was published in 1679, procured for Burnet an honour which no other writer had received previously nor has obtained since; he had the thanks of both houses of Parliament, with a desire that he would prosecute the undertaking and complete so valuable a work. There is at first sight ground for suspicion, when we see such a popularity and success in the midst of the excited fanaticism which then possessed all minds, and this suspicion is justified by the work itself. It abounds with ingenious remarks, elaborate research, and eloquent passages; we must even admit that, taken as a whole, and in the general aspect of the facts which it presents, the author has the mastery over his opponents; but, notwithstanding all this, it is the work of a partisan, full of narrow views, partial statements, biassed opinions, and which, in spite of its prodigious success, does not now deserve the esteem either of the philosopher or of the historian. All that we can say in favour of Burnet is, that the Catholics whom

he controverted were not more enlightened nor more impartial than himself. The second volume of this work was published in 1681, and the third in 1714. Burnet himself published an abridgment of the first two volumes in 1682. There are three French translations of this:—one published in London, in 1683 and 1685, in two volumes, quarto; another at Geneva, in 1685, in four volumes, 12mo; a third at Amsterdam, in 1687. There is also a Latin translation of it by Mittelhorzer, in folio, Geneva, 1686.

Burnet has left a great number of other works, namely: 1st. Fifty-eight sermons; 2nd. Thirteen discourses, or treatises on matters connected with Protestant theology; 3rd. Eighteen controversial writings on the Popish question; 4th. Twenty-five historical treatises,—I have mentioned the most important; his "Memoirs of James and William, Dukes of Hamilton," edited from papers in possession of the family, also contain many curious details with reference to the English revolution; it is, on the whole, a very readable book. 5th. Lastly, twenty-six essays on moral, political, literary, and miscellaneous topics.

The author of the article on Burnet, in M. Michaud's "Biographie Universelle," says, that the son of the prelate, Thomas Burnet, published his "Essays and Meditations on Morality and Religion" at the same time as the "History of his own Time." This is a mistake. I find in an arranged catalogue of Burnet's writings, drawn up in 1753, and appended to a new edition of the "History of his own Time," published at London in 1818, the following passage: "The bishop left finished and prepared for the press a book, entitled, 'Essays and Meditations on Morality and Religion;' with directions in his last will that it should be printed, but I cannot find that this order was ever executed."

The following is the letter which Burnet sent to the king, and which was published by his son Thomas Burnet in his life of the bishop affixed to the "History."*

"29th of January, 1680.

"May it please your Majesty,

"I have not presumed to trouble your Majesty for some months, not having anything worthy your time to offer; and now I choose rather this way, since the infinite duty I owe you puts me under restraints in discourse, which I cannot so

* Vol. ii., pp. 686-689.

easily overcome. What I shall now suggest to your Majesty, I do it as in the presence of Almighty God, to whom I know I must give an account of all my actions; I therefore beg you will be graciously pleased to accept this most faithful zeal of your poor subject, who has no other design in it than your good, and the discharge of his own conscience.

"I must then first assure your Majesty, I never discovered anything like a design of raising rebellion among all those with whom I converse; but I shall add, on the other hand, that most people grow sullen, and are highly dissatisfied with you and distrustful of you. Formerly your ministers, or his royal highness, bore the blame of things that were ungrateful; but now it falls upon yourself, and time, which cures most other distempers, increases this. Your last speech makes many think it will be easy to fetch up petitions from all parts of England; this is now under consultation, and is not yet determined; but I find so many inclined to promote them, that, as far as I can judge, it will go that way. If your Majesty calls a new Parliament, it is believed that those who have promoted the petitions will be generally elected; for the inferior sort of people are much set upon them, and make their judgment of men from their behaviour in that matter. The soberer sort of those who are ill-pleased at your conduct, reckon that either the state of your affairs beyond sea, or your exchequer at home, will ere long necessitate your meeting your Parliament; and that then things must be rectified, and therefore they use their utmost endeavours to keep all quiet. If your Majesty has a session in April for supporting your allies, I find it is resolved by many, that the money necessary to maintain your alliances shall be put into the hands of commissioners, to issue it as they shall answer to the two houses; and these will be so chosen, that, as it is likely that the persons will be very unacceptable to you, so they being trusted with the money, will be as a council of state to control all your councils. And as to your exchequer, I do not find any inclination to consider your necessity, unless many things be done to put them into a better disposition than I can observe in them. The things that will be demanded will not be of so easy a digestion, as that I can imagine you will ever be brought to them, or indeed that it will be reasonable or honourable for you to grant them. So that, in this disorder of affairs, it is easy to propose difficulties, but not so easy to find out that which may remove them.

"There is one thing, and indeed the only thing in which all honest men agree, as that which can easily extricate you out of all your troubles; it is not the change of a minister or of a council, but it is (and suffer me, sir, to speak it with a more than ordinary earnestness) a change in your own heart, and in your course of life. And now, sir, if you do not with indignation throw this paper from you, permit me (with all the humility of a subject prostrate at your feet) to tell you, that all the distrust your people have of you, all the necessities you are under, all the indignation of Heaven that is upon you, and appears in the defeating all your counsels, flow from this, that you have not feared nor served God, but have given yourself up to so many sinful pleasures. Your Majesty may perhaps justly think, that many of those who oppose you have no regard for religion, but the body of your people consider it more than you can imagine. I do not desire your Majesty to put on a hypocritical show of religion, as Henry III. of France did, hoping thereby to have weathered the storms of those times. No! that would be soon seen through, and as it would provoke God more, so it would increase jealousies. No, sir, it must be real, and the evidences of it signal; all those about you who are the occasions of sin, chiefly the women, must be removed, and your court be reformed. Sir, if you will turn you to religion sincerely and seriously you shall quickly find a serene joy of another nature possess your mind than that which arises from gross pleasures; God would be at peace with you, and direct and bless all your counsels; all good men would presently turn to you, and ill men would be ashamed, and have a thin party. For I speak it knowingly, there is nothing has so alienated the body of your people from you, as what they have heard of your life, which disposes them to give an easy belief to all other scandalous reports.

"Sir, this counsel is now almost as necessary for your affairs as for your soul; and though you have highly offended that God, who has been infinitely merciful to you, in preserving you at Worcester fight, and during your long exile, and who brought you back so miraculously, yet he is still good and gracious; and will, upon your sincere repentance and change of life, pardon all your sins, and receive you into his favour. Oh! sir, what if you should die in the midst of all your sins? At the great tribunal, where you must appear, there will be no regard to the crown you now wear; but it will aggravate your punishment, that, being in so emi-

nent a station, you have so much dishonoured God. Sir, I hope you believe there is a God, and a life to come, and that sin shall not pass unpunished. If your Majesty will reflect upon your having been twenty years upon the throne, and in that time how little you have glorified God, how much you have provoked him, and that your ill example has drawn so many after you to sin, that men are not now ashamed of their vices, you cannot but think that God is offended with you; and if you consider how ill your counsels at home, and your wars abroad have succeeded, and how much you have lost the hearts of your people, you may reasonably conclude this is of God, who will not turn away his anger from you, till you turn to him with your whole heart.

"I am no enthusiast, either in opinion or temper; yet I acknowledge I have been so pressed in my mind to make this address to you, that I could have no ease till I did it: and since you were pleased to direct me to send you, through Mr. Chiffinch's hands, such informations as I thought fit to convey to you, I hope your Majesty will not be offended, if I have made use of that liberty. I am sure I can have no other design in it but your good; for I know very well this is not the method to serve any ends of my own. I therefore throw myself at your feet, and once more, in the name of God, whose servant I am, do most humbly beseech your Majesty to consider of what I have written, and not to despise it for the meanness of the person who has sent it; but to apply yourself to religion in earnest; and I dare assure you of many blessings both temporal and spiritual in this life, and of eternal glory in the life to come: but if you will go on in your sins, the judgments of God will probably pursue you in this life, so that you may be a proverb to after ages; and after this life, you will be for ever miserable; and I, your poor servant that now am, shall be a witness against you in the great day, that I gave you this free and faithful warning.

"Sir, no person alive knows that I have written to you to this purpose; and I chose this evening, hoping that your exercise to-morrow may put you into disposition to weigh it more carefully. I hope your Majesty will not be offended with this sincere expression of my duty to you; for I durst not have ventured on it, if I had not thought myself bound to it, both by the duty I owe to God, and that which will ever oblige me to be,

"May it please your Majesty," &c.

JOHN SHEFFIELD, DUKE OF BUCKINGHAM.

[1649—1721.]

Two royal favourites of the name of Sir George Villiers, father and son, have given an unhappy celebrity to the name Buckingham which both bore successively.* But their fatal influence on the government of their country was not the only outrage which they committed on morality and reason; both joined to it that irregular splendour by which, at certain times, the flippant insolence of men attached to the court delights to ornament the flagrancy of their life, and for which it is indebted to the blended display which they make of their accomplishments and their vices.

Vices and accomplishments contributed also to the reputation of a third Duke of Buckingham, who was distinguished rather in literature than in politics; I refer to John Sheffield, born in 1649, at first Earl of Mulgrave, and created afterwards Duke of Buckingham by Queen Anne. The career and the character of this man do not present anything specially worthy of attention, they do not show us that he possessed any strong individuality, he does but embody with some fidelity the leading features of his age. Being of a lively and bold disposition, and gifted with a handsome figure, he went to the wars, gave himself up to women and mirth, conforming thus to fashions which had been introduced in his time to the English court from the court of France, and he several times took part in public affairs without leaving behind him any very obvious traces of his influence. After having as a Tory united with the court in showing respect for Catholicism, so long as the favour of the prince was accessible by means of the Catholics, he joined the nation in its hostility to the Catholics when they on the contrary attempted to exclude from all favour every Protestant, however indifferent he might be to Protestantism. James II. had arrived at that point when he would not accept the assistance of any to his projects, unless they would adopt his beliefs. But in order to gain adherents on these terms, more devotion and

* The first, a favourite of James I. and Charles I., was born on the 20th of August, 1592, and was assassinated at Portsmouth by Felton on the 28th of August, 1628. The second, his son, and a favourite of Charles II., was born on the 30th of January, 1627, and died on the 16th of April, 1688.

audacity was required than the king could infuse into his partisans. Of those attached to his person, Lord Mulgrave was considered especially trustworthy. He had been appointed, on the accession of James II., Lord Chamberlain and member of the Privy Council. When the negotiations were being carried on which prepared for the revolution of 1688, one of the agents employed by the Prince of Orange to treat with the disaffected lords proposed that Lord Mulgrave should be admitted into their confidence; upon which the Earl of Shrewsbury said, "If you do, you will spoil all; he will never join with us." After the revolution of 1688, King William, relating this circumstance to Lord Mulgrave, asked him, "Pray, my lord, what would you have done if my agent had acquainted you with the whole business?" "Sir," said Lord Mulgrave, "I should have discovered it to the master I served." He had no fear of losing favour with his new master by giving such an answer. The king replied, "I cannot blame you."* His attachment to the interests of his old master did not carry him beyond the bounds of that resignation which events, when they have been once accomplished, demand. He spoke in the House of Lords in favour of the Prince of Orange, and that he should reign conjointly with his wife. But without committing himself entirely to the new government, voting and speaking often in aid of the opposition, he knew how to keep up the position of a man whose alliance is sought for and conciliated by power, but whose constant adherence can never be reckoned upon. Buckingham had no great liking for William III., and even viewed only with a kind of frivolous disdain that taciturn adroitness, that vigorous circumspection, not to be disturbed by any expressions of flattery, and the frigid exterior of that genius which only betrayed itself by great actions. He consented, however, to accept from the king a pension of three thousand pounds, and a seat in the Privy Council. Under Queen Anne, to whom, it is said, he had made his addresses in his youth, he entered more conspicuously into public life; withdrew, therefore, returned, and took part in all the ministerial movements of a reign directed far more than the preceding had been by court influences. This was the appropriate sphere for the Duke of Buckingham: skilful in ruining his friends, unscrupulous as to the agency he em-

* Biographia Britannica, art. Sheffield, vol. vi., p. 3659.

ployed, but, too proud to lower his own personal position, he sometimes compromised it by his flippancy, and knew how to retain it by his audacity. In his youth the freedom of his pleasantries with the mistresses of Charles II. had brought on him the displeasure of the king; and, on one occasion, it is said the king went so far as to take an opportunity to send the Earl of Mulgrave to Tangier in a vessel which was unfit to endure the voyage. The earl, warned of the danger, and not having been able to obtain a better vessel, was unwilling to give up an expedition which he had himself solicited; but he advised several volunteers, who had engaged to follow him, not to expose themselves to such dangers, since their honour was not equally concerned. Many profited by his advice, others persisted, as a matter of honour, in their first resolution. Among these last was the Earl of Plymouth, a natural son of Charles II. The weather was so favourable to the travellers that, notwithstanding the miserable state of the vessel, which leaked in numerous places, they arrived in health and safety at Tangier; but during the whole passage the earl would not allow the king's health to be drunk at his table.

Literature occupied the time of the Duke of Buckingham which was not given to intrigues with the world or with the court. His rank, his friendships with the literary men of his time, the eulogies of Pope and Dryden, have given to his verses far more celebrity than they deserve to possess. As to his few writings in prose, none of them are beyond what we should expect from a man of the world accustomed to be easily satisfied with the most simple efforts of thought: two alone still possess any real interest. The first, entitled "Memoirs in the Reign of Charles II.," seems to have had for its object merely to relate a fact personal to the author, but which is not without importance, as bearing upon the history of the time. We find in it some details, delicately hinted at, concerning what takes place behind the scene, which is the true history for a courtier, and which, under the frivolous, as well as corrupt government of Charles II., were in fact the basis and true cause of events. Such Memoirs, referring to such a time, are as instructive as they are amusing; and it is to be regretted that Buckingham did not extend them to a greater length.

In the fragment which he has written on the "Revolution

of 1688," we can recognise a seriousness which was reflected from the times which were approaching, and the tone of a man who begins to interest himself in the destiny of his country. Nothing can better demonstrate the necessity of the revolution then accomplished in England, than the almost affectionate feeling of pity for James II., and of enmity for the Prince of Orange, which shows itself without disguise in this short narrative, without being accompanied with the least expression of regret for the government which fell. We might be inclined to say that the author endeavours to represent an historical event long since consummated, and which is no longer able to inspire any sentiment except the desire to form a correct estimate of the conduct of the principal actors. Such was, in fact, the character of the revolution of 1688—it was at the time of its accomplishment as much a necessity as if it already belonged to the past. This rendered its progress so tranquil and easy.

After having enjoyed, rather as a courtier than as a statesman, the uninterrupted favour of Queen Anne, the Duke of Buckingham, on the accession of George I., retired entirely from court life, and died in 1721, aged seventy-two years. He had been married three times; the last was during the reign of Queen Anne, to a natural daughter of James II. The periods of lying-in were generally, it appears, very dangerous to his last wife, the only one by whom he had any children; and the author of a kind of biography, wishing to defend him from the charge of avarice which had been brought against him, says, that during the pregnancy of his wife he was always at the pains to secure for her the services of an excellent physician,—an attention, he adds, in which many of those who passed for being more generous than he were deficient. The corruption of morals leads to a refinement of egotism and coldness which the most distrustful observer of human nature could not of himself discover.

SIR JOHN RERESBY.

Sir John Reresby would have been entirely unknown had he not undertaken to write his own "Memoirs." The manuscript of this work originally contained long personal

details, but the editor did not think them worthy of being laid before the public. "Sir John," he says, "having very minutely acquainted us with his birth, education, and travels, which could neither affect the reader nor be admitted as part of what we promised to print of him, we shall set out from the year 1658." The editor was right. It does not appear that the private life of Sir John Reresby possessed interest of any kind, moral or romantic; and it is only that part of his "Memoirs" which refer to the period between the death of Cromwell and the fall of James II.—from 1658 to 1689—that has a truly historical interest. To listen to the testimony of a member of Parliament employed by the court, as Sir John Reresby was, from 1675 until the revolution of 1688, must be an important help to our comprehension of such an epoch; and the personal interests which occupied him during this period, interchange, in a pleasing and instructive manner, with the recital of public affairs. Among the crowd of men who are introduced into the political arena by means of a representative government, a large number are to be met with possessed of very moderate capacities, but who have shown sufficiently a respectable share of good sense in the ordinary circumstances of life, and are, by local partiality, pushed into a prominence which brings them into connexion with the most important events of the country. Destined to swell the ranks of the party to which they have attached themselves, these men are of little importance to a government, unless it is engaged in a struggle with public opinion, and compelled to seek elsewhere for a power capable of sustaining it. Such a government does not address itself to the public, being usually guided by certain ideas of reason and justice, which it is unable practically to embody, or by general interests, which it is unwilling to satisfy. Accordingly it seeks individual interests, of a varied and isolated character, entirely destitute of the power necessary to procure for themselves obedience, and consequently disposed to serve. Political movement thus transforms itself into a kind of stock exchange jobbery, in which each man has his individual place and history. The history of Sir John Reresby is such as might be expected from the position of a man determined to use, for the advancement of his fortune, such of his opinions as were pleasing to power, and to keep back such as were distasteful to

it. A Tory by personal inclination, interest, and vanity, Sir John was naturally disposed to render to power all the devotion which it might ask, and, at the same time, he does not conceal from himself the danger of those false measures to which, however, he never refuses his support. Induced to prefer the discriminating conduct of the Marquis of Halifax to the violent opinions of the Duke of York, dissatisfied with the favour of the Duchess of Portsmouth, but steadily bent on pursuing such favour wherever it might conduct him, he proffered his services while he reserved his judgment; and after the revolution of 1688, being grieved at the downfal of his old masters, he felt himself injured by the small amount of eagerness shown by his patron, the Marquis of Halifax, in employing him in the service of the Prince of Orange, whose accession he deplored. In other respects, Sir John Reresby was an honourable man—using the word in a low sense—wanting only in the feeling of political duties, —a feeling which was obliterated after the periods of revolutionary and despotic violence, during which he remained without occupation. He presents himself before us with all the simple frankness of a man perfectly satisfied as to the propriety of his impressions, because he is conscious they are shared in by all around him. Nothing can be more curious than the details of his relations with Charles II. and his ministers; the advice which he gives; the familiarities which win him; the confidences which he receives; the arguments which convince him. As an intelligent and active man, but habitually vulgar in his feelings and notions, he is a sufficiently accurate type of that class of men who sustain power without hindering its decay, and who may be advantageously employed, so long as they are not the sole prop of a government.

The editor of Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, by closing them at the year 1689, seems to indicate that that year was the last of his public life. A time had arrived when servility, in its turn, was to be dispensed with; and whatever prudence Sir John Reresby might flatter himself he could display in his conduct, the services about which the court of the Stuarts had employed him in Yorkshire, rendered him probably little fitted to become the associate of a government which had been called by and designed to act upon fixed principles.

ON THE "EIKON BASILIKE."

ATTRIBUTED TO CHARLES I.

Only a few days had passed since the condemnation of Charles I., when the Eikôn Basilikè appeared as his work and portraiture,—as a triumphant revelation concerning a man who, in the eyes of his party, had by his death taken his place among the noble army of martyrs. The effect was prodigious: forty-seven editions in rapid succession showed that the popularity and admiration which it had secured were proportionate to the excited feelings in sympathy with which the work had been produced. Numerous translations carried the echo throughout Europe; and all the writers of the time, English and foreign, united in the expressions of high esteem and veneration entertained by all Europe for the character and talents of the unfortunate prince, whom all agreed in believing to be the author. Bayle, the least enthusiastic and most sagacious of critics, referring to the passage in which Milton calls in question the authenticity of the Eikôn Basilikè,"* adds, "The mere sentiments of this work would not have made any impression abroad; but every one was persuaded that Charles I. had written the book which appeared under his name. This was so honourable to his memory, and seemed so to establish his claim to be considered a martyr, that Milton, professing his belief that it was a forgery, was thought only to have resorted to the trick of an advocate, who denies whatever tells favourably for his opponent."†

Some modern writers, struck with the unanimity of opinion regarding this work in the seventeenth century, have appeared to think that if the Eikôn Basilikè had been published before the death of Charles I. it would have saved him. We, who are remote from the times and persons involved in a struggle, may easily assent to such a supposition; but whoever has watched their progress and observed how inevitably they are driven forward to the point towards which they started, will attach little importance to such an obstacle.

In great epochs the first step determines the goal: the collateral events which happen on the road are comparatively

* Preface to "Eikonoclastes." Milton's Prose Works. Vol. i., p. 315. Bohn's Standard Library Edition.

† Bayle's Dictionary, article "Milton," note 11.

insignificant. Cromwell and his party, in 1649, were not in a condition to recede, but they were not equally without grounds for alarm, even after their victory. This startling display of the feelings and power of the Royalist party could not but cause their own party some disturbance. They had aimed a blow at it which they hoped would be its ruin; great, then, was their surprise, when they found themselves obliged to argue with it. Their writers set themselves to the task of refuting it. Milton published, in 1649, a bitter reply to the Eikôn Basilikè, under the title of "Eikonoclastes," and in his preface he calls in question the authenticity of the work; the astrologer William Lilly, re-suggested the doubt two years after, in his "Observations on the Life and Death of Charles I." Public indignation rejected this as a blasphemy, and the two Republicans, unable to afford any other support to their opinions than conjecture, were branded with the reproach of having given an impotent exhibition of malignity.

Nevertheless, if they had no means of demonstrating their opinion, neither had their adversaries any more decisive proofs of theirs. Under Cromwell the Royalists exerted themselves in destroying or concealing any proofs that might exist of the royal authorship of the Eikôn Basilikè. After the Restoration, the Republicans were prevented by shame from producing any objections which might revive the controversy and lead to a discovery of the truth. The dominant feeling of the public overruled all doubts, and fashion, which is almost as powerful as interest, consecrated every opinion which was cherished by the Royalists. In vain was it that some voices were raised to protest against this universal assumption; in vain was it that some even of the Royalists had reasons for denying or questioning the authenticity of a work which was regarded as the glory of its author; these hints could not reach further than the narrow circle of conversation. The only result was a kind of uneasiness in those who affirmed the authenticity of the book—an uneasiness which betrayed itself in the efforts of some among them to establish by facts what no one would venture strongly to contest; but their opinion, which they felt was poorly supported, was impatient to attack an incredulity which, though unexpressed, gave them annoyance.

The most positive testimony that can be quoted is that of Royston, the printer, who had, on the 23rd of December,

1648, received the manuscript of the Eikôn Basilikè from the hands of Dr. Symmonds, who said that it was the work of the King, and that he had received it from Dr. Bryan Duppa, Bishop of Salisbury, and chaplain to Charles I. Symmonds died a short time after, poisoned, it is said, on this account. Duppa died, also, in 1662, without having been called upon for a public explanation. With them all evidence which could lead to certainty had disappeared. The widow of Dr. Symmonds confirmed the testimony of the printer Royston. Her husband, she said, had often told her that the king was the author of the Eikôn Basilikè, but would not inform her from whom he received it. As to the existence of the original manuscript, the facts produced were still more uncertain. Sir Thomas Herbert had found, among the books which Charles had left him at his death, a manuscript copy of the Eikôn Basilikè, but nothing had fallen from Charles that could justify the suspicion that he was its author; and the terms in which Herbert expresses his opinion on this point indicate rather the manner of one who wishes to believe, than of one who is really convinced. A work published in 1649, entitled "The Princely Pelican," intended probably as an answer to Milton's Eikonoclastes, relates that the manuscript of the Eikôn Basilikè, taken by the Parliamentarians at the battle of Naseby, with other papers of the king, had been restored to him by an officer of the army, who was found, after the Restoration, to be Major Huntington.* Some other evidences of a less decisive character, and of but little authority, were given in support of this.

* Such, at least, was the declaration of Huntington, who added, that the chapters containing reflections were in the handwriting of Sir Edward Walker, with interlineary additions and corrections by the king, but that the prayers were entirely in the king's handwriting. But Sir Edward Walker, who wrote in favour of the authenticity of the Eikôn Basilikè, says nothing of this fact, which, however, would be decisive; and, on the other hand, he relates that a work of his (Historical Discourse on the Civil Wars), composed at the request of the king, presented by him to the king in 1645, and by the king to Lord Digby, who was ordered to take care of it, was lost at the battle of Naseby, and restored to the king, two years afterwards, by an officer in the army. It appears, moreover, that this work of Sir Edward Walker's contained corrections in the handwriting of the king. Huntington, then, supposing that his testimony was sincere, must have confounded facts, and related, with reference to the work about which he was then writing with some warmth, what his memory supplied concerning another manuscript. Besides, it is not impossible that he should have found among the papers restored to the king after the battle of Naseby some documents afterwards employed in the composition of the Eikôn Basilikè, which might have contributed to Huntington's mistake, and to that of the anonymous author of "The Princely Pelican."

These proofs were sufficient for a public, to which none of a different kind were presented. The Eikôn Basilikè had been printed, *cum privilegio regis*, as one of the works of Charles I. The question seemed to have been decided, when, in 1686, at the sale of Lord Anglesea's library, the following note, written by his Lordship, was found in his copy of the Eikôn Basilikè: —"King Charles the Second and the Duke of York did both (in the last session of Parliament, 1675, when I showed them, in the Lords' House, the written copy of this book, wherein are some corrections, written with the late King Charles the First's own hand), assure me that this was none of the said king's compiling, but made by Doctor Gauden, Bishop of Exeter, which I here insert for the undeceiving others in this point, by attesting so much under my hand.—ANGLESEA."*

If, at the period of this discovery, distance of time had rendered the truth more difficult to elucidate, it had also rendered it more easy to discuss. The tide of events had turned; the revolution of 1688 was preparing, and opinions obnoxious to the reigning house met with no opposition from the public. Otherwise we might be permitted to doubt whether James II., the Catholic son of Charles I., would place a very high value on any proofs which the king his father might have given of his firm attachment to the Protestant religion. It was not, however, till after the revolution of 1688, that the controversy on the authenticity of the Eikôn Basilikè was rekindled; then only the antagonists of the house of Stuart believed that they could treat the subject with greater freedom, while its partisans attached more importance to the relics of it which still remained to them. Neither Bishop Gauden, nor his wife, nor his son, were living; but Dr. Walker, his friend and confidant, maintained the veracity of the note written by Lord Anglesea: he had seen Gauden at work on the Eikôn Basilikè; he had accompanied him on one occasion to the house of Dr. Duppa, to whom Gauden communicated his manuscript; and on that day, in leaving the Bishop of Salisbury, with whom he had a long private conference, Gauden had said to Walker that Duppa desired him to add to the work he had commenced two chapters, one on "the

* It may cause surprise that the note of Lord Anglesea, written evidently thirteen years after the death of Dr. Gauden, should designate him Bishop of Exeter, since he died Bishop of Worcester. But Gauden, as we shall see, was Bishop of Worcester for only three months, and, probably, he had been customarily spoken of under his first title.

Ordinance against the Common Prayer-Book," and another on "the Denying the King the attendance of his Chaplains." Duppa was, in fact, commissioned to write these two chapters while Gauden performed the rest. Lastly, Walker had received from Gauden himself the last part of the manuscript of the Eikôn Basilikè, in a sealed parcel, and had remitted it, on the 23rd of December, 1648, to the person whose business it apparently was to pass it on to the printer (Royston), through the hands of Dr. Symmonds.

The particulars given by Dr. Walker were in part confirmed by a paper by Mrs. Gauden, found, it was said, by Mr. Arthur North, her son-in-law, among the papers of her son, and the object of which seemed to be to solicit the assistance of the court after the death of her husband,—which, however, she never received. According to Mrs. Gauden, the Eikôn Basilikè had been composed by her husband in order to counterbalance the advantage which Cromwell possessed with the public by his reputation for piety, and to produce a corresponding favourable opinion on behalf of the king. He had at first given to his work the title of "Suspiria Regalia," and intended to publish it as a manuscript found in the king's apartment after his removal from Holmsby. This project was communicated to Lord Capel, who approved of it, but thought that the book should not be printed without the consent of the king, who was then in the Isle of Wight. The Marquis of Hertford was secretly charged to carry the manuscript thither, and he brought back as an answer to Gauden, that the king, to whom Bishop Duppa, then attending on his person, had read several chapters of the work, approved it entirely as a faithful expression of his thoughts, and desired its publication, but not under his own name; and that, having been informed of the project of the author, he had requested time to think over it. Gauden was then determined to print the copy which he had preserved, thinking that its publication might be useful to the king, whose position was becoming every day more perilous; he only changed the title from Suspiria Regalia into Eikôn Basilikè; he remitted the manuscript to Symmonds, who sent it to Royston as the veritable production of the king; and they were hastening on its publication when the work, partly printed, was discovered and seized. They were therefore obliged to begin

afresh, and were not in a condition to publish the Eikôn Basilikè till a few days after Charles's death.

Such is, in substance, the narrative of Mrs. Gauden. Positive as it appears, its authority alone would not be suficient to decide the question. The personal interest of Mrs. Gauden in the matter was great; the disappearance of nearly all the witnesses left her a clear stage to make what assertions she pleased; besides, whatever confidence we may place in her testimony, the paper which contained it is known to us only through the medium of Ludlow and Toland, both of them imbued with those party prejudices which make credulity so easy; and neither of them had seen anything but extracts. But the account given by Dr. Walker, and printed in 1692, that is, a year before Ludlow's pamphlet, leaves but little doubt of the fact that Gauden had at least very much to do with the composition of the Eikôn Basilikè. This narrative, moreover, tended to explain other facts which, if well understood, might lead to a kind of certainty.

Much astonishment was felt when, after the Restoration, Gauden was presented with the see of Exeter. At the commencement of the revolution he was chaplain to the Earl of Warwick, and had embraced with ardour the opinions of his patron, and the opportunities which they gave him of pushing himself forward. A sermon, preached by him in 1640 before the House of Commons, had led to his being presented with a rich silver tankard. In 1641 he was promoted to the valuable rectory of Bocking. The enthusiasm of his Parliamentary sentiments did not, however, so far destroy his prudence as to induce him to trust the preservation of his fortune to the chances of party; though presented to his benefice by the Parliament, he found means to have his appointment confirmed by Archbishop Laud, who was then in the Tower. He was nominated a member of the Assembly of Divines, he adopted the Covenant, but took care to leave his acceptance doubtful; and having declared himself in favour of, not exactly the abolition, but the reform of the episcopacy, he was returned for the Assembly. Nevertheless, his attachment to the cause which he had at first chosen remained sufficiently manifest to cause him some alarm respecting his living at Bocking; but, at the same time, his secret connexions secured to him means of proving, in case of need, his full and sincere return to the most loyal convictions. He composed on the

10th of February, 1649, a "Just Invective against the Murderers of Charles I.;" it was not, however, published till 1662; and if, on the 5th of January, 1649, he issued under his own name a "Religious and Loyal Protestation against the Proceedings of the Army," the rest of his conduct was apparently so contrived as to protect his living at Bocking, for he remained in possession of it under all changes of government, and it was there that he composed his work in favour of episcopacy, which, published in 1659, was considered by far-sighted persons as one of the certain signs of the approaching Restoration.

The public conduct of Gauden was not then such as to merit any favours from the court of Stuart; it showed him rather to belong to those men whom the resentment of parties, always more active than their gratitude, might justly exclude from any share in the fruits of victory; therefore Bishop Sheldon and several other heads of the Anglican Church opposed his promotion. But some secret motive required that he should be humoured, and he was made Bishop of Exeter. However, Gauden, who rated his services at a higher value, complained bitterly of a promotion which, while elevating him in dignity, diminished, or at least did not sufficiently increase, his revenues. Several of his letters to Lord Clarendon, inserted in the State Papers of that minister, indicate, more or less clearly, what claims he considered himself to have on the royal munificence, and the expectations which he had formed, that what had been done in a princely manner would be rewarded with equal liberality; at last he demands *in commendam*, till something better is provided, that a benefice worth four or five hundred pounds sterling should be added to his bishopric. His papers, also found by Mr. Arthur North, contain an answer by Lord Clarendon on this subject, whose writing, it is said, was recognised by his son. Clarendon, appearing to approve of the arrangement proposed by the bishop, as a convenient method of delivering himself from his importunities, adds, "The particular you mention has indeed been imparted to me as a secret: I am sorry I ever knew it; and when it ceases to be a secret, it will please none but Mr. Milton." If, as has been remarked, doubts rest on the perfect authenticity of Mr. Arthur North's papers, nevertheless the sentiment attributed here to Clarendon is more than proved by the absolute silence maintained in his History of the Great

Rebellion with reference to the Eikôn Basilikè, a publication which all parties had justly regarded as a great event for the royal cause. Clarendon had been informed concerning the secret of the Eikôn Basilikè by Dr. Morley, his chaplain, to whom Gauden had confided it. This did not prevent Dr. Morley from obtaining for himself, in 1662, the see of Winchester, a prize on which Gauden had fixed his ambition. Gauden was obliged to content himself with the bishopric of Worcester, and so little could he satisfy his cravings that he died, apparently from mortification, at the end of a few months, the victim of that restless ambition and vanity which displays itself in his letters to Clarendon, and having, it seemed, but a small chance of ever attaining to any distinction amidst the crowd of those who were pressing forward, anxious to undertake any kind of service. Gauden was then employed by his new party to establish those principles of toleration which the court had adopted; he had just published a declaration in favour of liberty of conscience, to be extended even to the Papists, and was preparing another, tending to exempt the Quakers from all oaths. Death spared him the peril of another step forward or of a new recantation.

Nothing connected with the life and writings of Dr. Gauden could lead to the utterance of his name, were it not for his connexion with the Eikôn Basilikè; there is every reason to believe that to him we must attribute the editing as well as the publication of that work, but it must remain uncertain whether the entire composition of it belongs to him. On this point his letters give no positive information, and the part which appears to have been taken in the work by Dr. Duppa, the chaplain of Charles I., in whom that prince had the greatest confidence, may warrant us in supposing that the unfortunate monarch was not entirely unaware of the intention thus to portray him, from which his partisans naturally expected considerable assistance to their cause. Perhaps some materials from the hand of Charles I. had formed the basis of the work, and whether Clarendon was aware of the fact or not, Gauden had no reason that could induce him to reveal it, and had great interest in keeping it secret. Of this the narrative of Mrs. Gauden says nothing; but this narrative, which is not in other respects, as we have seen, fully trustworthy, is equally silent as to the connection of Gauden with the Bishop of Salisbury,—a silence which may

indicate something which it was prudent to conceal. Walker appears to suppose that the work belonged entirely to his friend; but if we adopt the narrative of Mrs. Gauden, it is evident that Walker was not cognisant of the whole matter, for he expressly states that Gauden never knew certainly whether the king had seen his manuscript, which is a direct contradiction to Mrs. Gauden's statement with reference to the answer brought by the Marquis of Hertford. Lastly, Sir Philip Warwick and several others have recognised in the Eikôn Basilikè things which they had heard from the king's own lips: the identity of doctrine among different members of the same party might serve to explain these apparent similarities; but they contribute to sustain a supposition natural in itself, and which—if the controversy had an interest for us now, such as it possessed in England forty years after the events had happened—might receive, by a minute discussion of facts, a sufficient degree of probability.

But our curiosity is neither so patient nor so insatiable; and out of the numerous dissertations that have been written for or against the authenticity of the Eikôn Basilikè, the two principal considerations which remain for us are the political importance and the literary merits of the work. This merit has been so generally acknowledged that, of all the arguments employed by the partisans of the Stuarts to disavow the co-operation of Dr. Gauden, this is the one to which least has been said in reply. No one of those who have maintained most pertinaciously that the Bishop of Exeter was the author of the Eikôn Basilikè has thought of denying the distance that exists between the doctor's acknowledged works and this which they thus attribute to him. "This is certain," says Burnet, "that Gauden never writ anything with that force, his other writings being such, that no man, from a likeness of style, would think him capable of writing so extraordinary a book as that is."* If, in fact, Gauden deserved the reproach cast upon him by his contemporaries of diffuseness, bombast, and affectation, such faults must have been carried to an extraordinary degree in order to make themselves remarked at a time when they were generally characteristic of the style of the period, and especially of theological writings; and we must confess that the Eikôn Basilikè is in this respect distinguished by a perspicuity and wisdom of

* Burnet's History of his own Times, p. 51, fol. ed.

which few illustrations are to be found in the writings of the Presbyterian school. Nevertheless, the wisdom of this book is sometimes disfigured by a hunting after metaphors, and a too constant use of antithesis; its perspicuity is more than once obscured by cumbrous and lengthy sentences, by the extent and frequency of parentheses; the learned unwieldiness of the Presbyterian style is sometimes perceptible, and, if we may judge by comparison, the specimen which Charles I. has left us, in his controversy with Dr. Henderson, of his mode of treating theological questions, would do little to establish his claims to the composition of the Eikôn Basilikè, which has still less the appearance of being written by a king, although the Bishop of Exeter says of the former that it does not belong to the royal author. Charles's style, as it appears in his controversy with Dr. Henderson, is simple and devoid of ornaments; the sentences are short and clear, such as generally belonged at that time to the style of the Cavaliers, who, for the most part, made little pretension to theological science.

The composition of the Eikôn Basilikè would also be a strong presumption against the authenticity of the work, at least in the state and form in which it is given to us. We may discover in it a species of artifice but little in harmony with the real nature of the impressions of which it pretends to offer the unvarnished representation. Several chapters, said to be written on the suggestion of the moment, are evidently inapplicable to the position which they are intended to illustrate. Thus, two chapters are devoted to the fatal resolution which Charles took in April, 1646, of proceeding to the Scottish camp. The first, which is supposed to be written at the time of the king's departure from Oxford, expresses the hopes of the unfortunate prince with reference to the last asylum which remained to him; in the second is painted his calm and resigned indignation against the men who had betrayed his confidence. It is highly improbable that, on the eve of such a step, any one would think it necessary to commit to writing, for his own private perusal, an account of the motives which led to it; and we can hardly imagine that the captive monarch, after the event, would occupy his leisure in giving expression to his feelings in a manner most suited to dramatic effect.

As to the character of its ideas, the Eikôn Basilikè, to use

the language of a writer of our own time, "contained nothing beyond the familiar meditations and the limited observations of a court divine."* Gauden, who was early thrown into the ranks of the opposition, was not a court theologian; but we have seen that he planned his work with the aid of the Bishop of Salisbury, and it was doubtless owing to the assistance, perhaps also to some original pieces put into his hands, that the doctor's work acquired that colouring of royalty which, in some respects, we cannot refuse to recognise in it. The divine right of kings, which is assumed in the Eikôn Basilikè as an incontrovertible dogma, presents itself moreover under the form of interior and individual feeling, expressed with that mixture of dignity and personal prejudice which such an opinion would necessarily produce in the mind of a sovereign strongly attached, as Charles was, to moral ideas, and accustomed to regard his own person as the first object of his attention. Nevertheless, this disguise is not always so perfectly preserved but that the religious personality will sometimes show itself instead of the royal, and lead the theologian to refer to spiritual interests what the the king would probably have referred to the interests of his crown. For instance, the egotism of repentance, if I may be allowed the expression, which is observable in the chapter on the death of the Earl of Strafford, shows clearly the habits of thought belonging to a theologian who often sees in crime nothing but expiation, nothing but the personal interests of the sinner, and in whose eyes all traces of evil are effaced when the offender can believe himself ransomed from punishment.

It is in some prayers, veritably composed by Charles himself, that we must seek for the mode of sorrowful expression which his penitence would lead him to adopt with reference to this criminal weakness. If he places in the same rank the self-reproach which he felt for having consented to the abolition of episcopacy in Scotland, we must recollect that it was in defence of that institution in England that the unhappy prince, up to the last moment, sacrificed the hope of approaching peace, and certainly the hope of liberty. "Was it through ignorance," says he, in one of his prayers, entitled "A Prayer and Confession in and for the Times of Affliction;" "was it through ignorance that I suffered innocent blood

* Malcolm Laing's History of Scotland, vol. iii., p. 407.

to be shed, by a false pretended way of justice, or that I permitted a wrong way of thy worship to be set up in Scotland, and injured the bishops in England? O no! but with shame and grief I confess that I therein followed the persuasions of worldly wisdom, forsaking the dictates of a right informed conscience. Wherefore, O Lord! I have no excuse to make, no hope left, but in the multitude of thy mercies."*

If we compare these prayers with those which conclude the chapters of the Eikôn Basilikè, we shall be struck with the difference between them. In the former we find the natural utterance of a soul trembling under an oppressive sense of its own weakness, in the presence of its Creator; the others seem to have been composed in the presence of the public. Without insisting on the continual abuse of antithesis, we recognise without difficulty the desire to obtain honour and favour in the eyes of men by a mention of Divine mercy, rather than any effort to obtain that mercy. It is not thus that a man prays for himself; and it is evident that the mind of the author, having no concern with heaven, did not think it necessary to raise its thoughts from earth.

We are unable to say whether it was from any regard to the public, or only to his own private opinions, that Gauden sacrificed those of the king with respect to episcopacy: in the prayer, unquestionably attributable to the king, which I have just quoted, the aversion of Charles I. to all measures contrary to episcopacy, is far more strongly marked than it is in the Eikôn Basilikè. But it is in the royal controversy with Mr. Henderson that we shall find the king's principal argument in favour of the episcopal hierarchy. "No one thing," says Charles, "made me more reverence the Reformation of my mother, the Church of England, than that it was done according to the Apostle's defence (Acts xxiv. 18), neither with multitude nor with tumult, but legally and orderly, and by those whom I conceive to have the reforming power."† This is, undoubtedly, such a motive as should actuate a king; and in omitting to avail himself of it, and thus giving to his book a far greater appearance of truthfulness, the author of the Eikôn Basilikè must have been influenced by very urgent reasons.

* Works of Charles I., vol. i., p. 196, folio. London, 1662.

† Charles's first letter to Henderson. Dated from Newcastle, May 29, 1646. Works of Charles I., vol. i., p. 156.

It is not for us now to judge accurately as to the causes of the immense sensation which this work produced at the time of its publication. Undeceived as to its origin, far removed in time from the events which gave it birth, we can no longer appreciate those vivid emotions which would be produced in the hearts of loyal English subjects, in the midst of their sufferings, by the least trace of a prince to whom the public grief was unwilling to attribute anything but virtue. It is needful to pass through and mingle in such an epoch in order to share this feeling in all its intensity. When engaged in these scenes, the excited spirit becomes susceptible to impressions which cannot preserve themselves through any succeeding ages. By the wise arrangements of Providence it has been ordained that the sufferings of humanity should not form a depth of woe destined to increase from generation to generation. But the astonishing reputation of the Eikôn Basilikè—the part which Charles I. himself probably took in it—the knowledge, at any rate, which he had of it before its publication, which is equivalent to an assent to it,—all these things make this work one of the most important monuments of that period, and certainly one in which the feelings and the ideas, the state of mind and heart, of the Royalist and Anglican party, are the most faithfully expressed.

ON THE MEMOIRS OF JAMES II.

King James II. was born with that activity of mind which is often found united with mediocrity of talent, and which, according to circumstances, renders mediocrity honourable or dangerous. It displayed itself alternately in good and disastrous effects; it was useful to him when an exile, and it deprived him of his throne; it led him to devote to honourable employment in France, under Turenne, those years of youth and adversity which his brother wasted in the dissipations of a court; it urged him on afterwards in England to precipitate that fatal catastrophe of the fortunes of the Stuarts which the indolence of Charles II. would have postponed. Always serious and careful of himself, even in the midst of those disorders which preceded and accompanied his devoted-

ness to the Papacy, James had constantly committed to writing the events of his life; and nine or ten manuscript volumes in his own handwriting—which were the chief objects of his solicitude when, in 1688, he fled from England before the fortunes of the Prince of Orange—were the fruit of this journalising. On his departure he entrusted them to the Comte de Thérèse, the ambassador from Savoy, who transmitted them to Leghorn, from whence they were sent to France, Some months before his death, James placed them at the College of Scottish Jesuits at Paris, in the hands of Louis Innes, the Principal of the college, so often mentioned in the writings of Voltaire as the Jesuit Innes. These manuscripts, which are represented, in a note found among the papers of Mr. Fox, as amounting to ten volumes of Memoirs and four of Letters, remained, after James's death, in the Scottish College, where they were seen by different individuals in a magnificent binding, engraved with the arms of Great Britain. At the time when the French revolution began to threaten establishments of this kind with danger, the manuscripts of King James were removed to St. Omer, whence they were to be sent to England. They were entrusted for a time to a Frenchman, a friend of Mr. Stapleton, the Principal of the Jesuit College at St Omer, and were concealed by him in his cellar; but, before the individual in whose charge they were placed could find an opportunity of embarking them, he was imprisoned upon suspicion. His wife, frightened by the fact of having such a charge, began by destroying the binding, a cause more than sufficient at that period to excite against the retainer of it the most dangerous accusations. She then removed the papers to her country residence, where they were buried in her garden; but soon, her alarm increasing as the state of France became more terrible, she burnt them. Thus perished the original source of the most precious information we could have respecting the interior movements of the English court, after the restoration of Charles II.

However all traces of them were not destroyed; the manuscripts of the "Memoirs of James II.," too voluminous, doubtless too chaotic, and perhaps also too unreserved for the uses for which they were required, had undergone a new arrangement (by whose orders and for what purpose is not known), in which long extracts, literally transcribed from the original manuscript, were united to other portions, extracted either

from the Memoirs, or the Letters, so as to form a complete and consecutive work, containing the life of James II., from his birth till his death. After the death of the Duchess of Albany, widow of the Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, which took place on the 29th of January, 1804, this last-mentioned manuscript passed, along with the other papers of the house of Stuart, out of the hands of the heirs of James II. into that of Abbé Waters, procurator-general of the English Benedictines, to whom the duchess had bequeathed them by her will. George IV., then Prince of Wales, entered into a negotiation at Rome with the Abbé Waters to obtain possession of these papers, which he consented to yield on condition of receiving a pension for life, of which he only received one payment, and died very soon afterwards. The war and other circumstances prevented for a long time the removal of these papers, which did not arrive in England till 1810, when they were deposited in the library of Carlton House. From thence was taken the manuscript which was printed in 1816* by Dr. Clarke, chaplain at Carlton House, and librarian of the Prince of Wales, then Prince Regent.

The time when the Memoirs of James II. were re-edited is uncertain. There is no reason, however, to doubt that the last part, at least, reckoning from 1688 inclusive, was not revised after the death of James, nor even of his widow, Queen Mary of Modena. The proof of this is found in a sentence in the manuscript, in which, on the occasion of the birth of the Prince of Wales, the writer speaks of the resemblance which the prince had, as he grew older, "to the late king, his father, and the late queen, his mother." We even find, in the part referring to the year 1685, several interlineary corrections, in the handwriting of James's son, known in France as the Chevalier de Saint George; which indicates that all this part had been corrected under his eyes, and by his orders. Lastly, among the papers deposited at Carlton House, there is to be found registered the authority or injunction given, in 1707, by this same Chevalier de Saint George to Louis Innes, that he should remove to St. Germains, for some months, the portion of the Memoirs and other manuscripts of James II. relating to 1678 and the succeeding years, in order that they might be, says the prince, "examined and investigated by such persons as we shall nominate for the purpose." We

* In 2 vols. 4to. London, 1816.

might infer from this that the persons nominated concerned themselves only with that part of the Memoirs which is alluded to; but still the question remains, whether the work was done under the inspection and by the order of James, or only after his death and by the direction of his son.

Two passages in Burnet's "History of my own Time," leave us little reason to doubt that James himself, before his accession to the throne, had caused extracts to be made from his principal journal and his Memoirs. "The Duchess of York," says Burnet, "was a very extraordinary woman. . . . . She writ well; and had begun the duke's life, of which she showed me a volume. It was all drawn from his journal; and he intended to have employed me in carrying it on."* And again: "He entered with great freedom with me about all his affairs: and he showed me the journals he took of business every day with his own hand; a method, he said, that the Earl of Clarendon had set him on. The duchess had begun to write his life. He showed me a part of it in a thin volume in folio. I read some of it, and found it writ with a great deal of spirit."†

Another fact may throw some light on this question. There appeared in 1735 in the appendix, and among the authorities to Ramsay's "History of Turenne," the "Mémoires du Duc d'York, contenant le récit de ses campagnes en France, et dans les Pays-Bas." This fragment, printed from a manuscript given by James himself to the Cardinal de Bouillon, with the exception of some slight alterations, which we shall presently indicate, will be found entire in the manuscript of Carlton House. It is accompanied by a preface written by the Cardinal himself, which is as follows:

"James II., King of England, having honoured me by relating to me, in the year 1695, divers particulars, and some considerable actions in the life of my late uncle, M. de Turenne, which were unknown to me, as not being mentioned in those Memoirs I had by me of his own handwriting, I made bold to represent to that prince that I was extremely sorry I was debarred, by the profound respect I had for his Majesty, from most humbly begging that he would be pleased, for the sake of that kindness he had for the late M. de Turenne, to commit to writing, at such hours as would be least incommodious to him, those particulars and those actions of his

* Burnet, vol. i., p. 170. † Ibid., pp. 459-360.

life to which I was an utter stranger; and I further said that I would not scruple to take the liberty of asking this favour of anybody but his Majesty, whom I ought to respect even more than the memory of the late M. de Turenne, which I had regarded, up to that moment, as the thing in the world that was most dear to me. Upon this his Majesty, out of his unparalleled goodness and generosity, told me he would with pleasure do what I wished, as soon as he possibly could, and even acquainted me, that as he had already written in English, by way of Annals, the memoirs of his own life, he would from them extract and translate into French whatever related to the campaigns he had made in the army of France, commanded by M. de Turenne, and those he afterwards made in the Low Countries, in the army of Spain, till the peace of the Pyrenees was proclaimed, and King Charles II., his brother, restored and placed on the throne of Great Britain. It was an agreeable surprise to me, on the 27th of January, in the next year, 1696, when going to St. Germain-en-Laye, to pay my respects to that great and religious king, he took me into his closet, where he told me he would now perform the promise he had made me the preceding year, and at the same time he put into my hand the sheets hereto annexed, into which, he assured me, he had transferred everything that he had found in his Memoirs concerning the late M. de Turenne, from the year 1652 inclusive, to the year 1660; adding, that he gave it me with gladness, not only on account of M. de Turenne, whose memory, he said, would be all his life long most dear and precious to him, as taking him to be the most consummate general and the greatest man he ever knew, and the best friend he ever had, but also in regard of the personal friendship he had for myself in particular. He, however, recommended to me never to permit these Memoirs to be perused by any person whatever till after his decease. Having returned his Majesty my most humble thanks for this favour, I promised him I would obey his commands, which promise I faithfully kept as long as he lived. This gift, from the hands of so great a king, appeared to me so valuable, and so greatly tending to the honour of the late M. de Turenne and of our whole family, that from that very moment I resolved, as I told his Majesty when I received from him this rich present, I would entail it for ever on the eldest branch of our family, as I accordingly do by these presents, being at Rome, the

16th of February, in the year 1715, and having there, by the providence of God, found again this inestimable book, which I had mislaid, and despaired of ever seeing more.

(Signed) "The Cardinal de Bouillon,
"Dean of the Sacred College."*

The preface informs us that the fragment, printed under the title of "Memoirs of the Duke of York," was revised and translated by James II. himself, which is confirmatory of the manuscript at Carlton House, at least so far as its editing is concerned. The extract is given as having been literally transcribed from the original Memoirs in James's handwriting. It appears certain, therefore, that at the end of the year 1695, when James undertook for the Cardinal de Bouillon the narrative of his campaigns, the editing of the manuscript at Carlton House had not commenced; for James would probably have made use of the same hand which he had employed in preparing the rest, to help him in drawing up the manuscript which he wished to give to Cardinal Bouillon. We may remark, perhaps, as a singular circumstance, that this manuscript, which had been lost in some unknown way, was found again at Rome, in 1715, where likewise the Carlton House manuscript, with the other papers of the House of Stuart, except the original Memoirs given to the Scottish College, have been since found. We cannot, however, infer anything from this against the authenticity of the manuscript at Carlton House. It is evident that that is the original version from which the manuscript of the Cardinal de Bouillon is only a translation. This last manuscript is, in the first place, more exact in its use of proper names, which may give us ground for supposing that James II., supposing the translation was his own, had it revised by some French secretary; further, in the Cardinal's manuscript the Duke of York is never mentioned except in the third person, whilst in the Carlton House version of the manuscript he is always alluded to under the form of the first person—a fact the more remarkable in that the third person is always employed in the other extracts derived from the original manuscripts; lastly, the Carlton House manuscript gives in de-

* The English translation of this document has been taken, with few alterations, from the translation of Ramsay's History of Turenne, which appeared in London in 1785. 2 vols., 8vo.

tail several circumstances of purely personal interest relating to the Duke of York, which are entirely omitted in the Cardinal's manuscript. Everything, therefore, favours the supposition that the Carlton House manuscript is more immediately the work of James; but at the same time there is every reason to regard the editing of that part of his Memoirs as a separate work, undertaken for the first time in compliance with the wish expressed by the Cardinal de Bouillon, and altogether unconnected with that complete revisal, of which, perhaps, he gave the first suggestion to the king. We know nothing, certainly, with respect to the authorship of this work; some attribute it to Louis Innes; and it has been affirmed to have been superintended by Dryden, probably the son of the poet of that name, himself also a poet, but of no reputation.

We cannot but deeply regret the loss of the original manuscripts which gave the first impressions of King James himself. It is difficult to believe that the Memoirs actually existing were compiled with equal ingenuousness; experience had then taught the descendants and partisans of King James, among other things, the necessity of sometimes withholding what they knew. Nevertheless, this last narrative, incomplete as it may be, contains a great number of fragments unquestionably derived from the original author, and is in other respects so fully stamped with his ideas and feelings, that it would be difficult to find anywhere else so faithful a representation of them.

J. Sandars
1861.

BOHN'S SHILLING SERIES.

GUIZOT'S MONK.

pp. 38.

GEORGE MONK,

DUKE OF ALBEMARLE

OB. 1670.

MONK:

OR

THE FALL OF THE REPUBLIC

AND

THE RESTORATION OF THE MONARCHY

IN ENGLAND, IN 1660.

BY

M. GUIZOT.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,

BY

ANDREW R. SCOBLE.

LONDON:
HENRY G. BOHN, YORK STREET, COVENT GARDEN.
1851.

LONDON:
PRINTED BY HARRISON AND SON,
ST. MARTIN'S LANE.

DA
407
A74G93
1851

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

MANY of the readers of M. Guizot's admirable History of the English Revolution have, no doubt, regretted that no account is given therein of the Restoration of the Monarchy under Charles II. This deficiency is amply supplied in the present work. In it, M. Guizot has pourtrayed, with a master's hand, the character of the man by whom the reactionary tendencies of the English people were guided to a successful issue; and has narrated, with brevity and clearness, the course of events which ultimated in the recall of the Stuart dynasty. Notwithstanding the interest and importance of the subject, no trustworthy life of Monk had previously been published; and we cannot therefore be surprised, when the high reputation of its author is considered, that the present biography should at once have become an authority, and assumed a permanent position in the historical library.

In preparing the present edition for the press, no pains have been spared to render it as accurate and complete as possible. The quotations have, in almost every case, been verified by reference to the originals. The valuable collection of diplomatic correspondence, inserted by M. Guizot in the

Appendix to his work, is now presented for the first time to the British public, and will be found to contribute largely to our previous knowledge of the subject. A portrait, and an analytical table of contents, have also been added, and will, it is hoped, somewhat enhance the value of this edition.

A. R. S.

London, *February*, 1851.

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AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE present work was not written with a view to publication. It was intended to be nothing more than an historical study, prepared for my own use, in order that I might clearly understand the causes of the Restoration of the Monarchy in England, in 1660, and accurately estimate the character of the man who brought about that great event. In 1837, some friends who had read my sketch, requested me to allow its insertion in the *Revue Française;* and I consented. It has never before been published either separately or completely.

In 1837, it had a purely historical interest; at the present day, it evidently possesses a value of an altogether different nature. France is indeed in a strange position! Anxious to avoid another revolution, all she desires is stability; and four or five questions, which all imply a revolution, afford an increasing theme of reflection and conversation to all her citizens:—

Can the Republic be consolidated?

Can the Monarchy be restored?

Which Monarchy shall we have? The Empire or the House of Bourbon?

Which branch of the House of Bourbon shall we choose? the elder or the younger? or both together, and in concert?

If France desires nothing but stability, why are all these questions continually under discussion? Let her put an end to all further debate, and remain *in statu quo.* If she does not believe in the stability of her present position, why does she not make choice of some solution to the questions at issue? Is it that these questions can be neither suppressed nor resolved? Such a state of affairs would be the worst imagin-

able; for, in that case, we should be condemned to passive anxiety—having no confidence in the present, and no hope for the future. I cannot, and will not, believe that this is the state of my country.

The France of 1850 and the England of 1660 bear but very slight resemblance to each other, and I have no intention, although this has been sometimes laid to my charge, of proposing the one as a model for the other's imitation. France has her own peculiar genius and destiny; let her preserve and trust to them. But there is a something which rises above all diversities of destiny and of national genius,—a something which is equally necessary everywhere and at all times: I refer to the *esprit politique*, or that good sense which in politics, as in everything else, and for nations as well as for individuals, can alone ensure definite and lasting success.

The good sense of two parties united to restore the English Monarchy in 1660. These were, the good sense of a man and the good sense of the country, or, to speak more exactly, of the Monarchical party in the country. In England, two hundred years ago, it was said, as it is now said in France, that the Monarchy had been irrevocably abolished, and that the Republic alone was possible. Monk perceived that this was a false notion. He believed in the Monarchy during the existence of the republic, when all around him, and himself among the number, were talking, either sincerely or hypocritically, of nothing but the Republic. And when, after the death of Cromwell, and the fall of his son Richard, the nation was really called on to choose between the two forms of government, Monk decided in favour of the Monarchy.

This merit has been denied him; and Monk, in pursuing the object he had in view, made so great use and abuse of falsehood, that men of prejudiced or superficial minds have doubted whether his resolution was early adopted and constantly maintained. But when we closely and thoroughly study documents and events, doubt is no longer possible. From the very first day, Monk was decided; and whatever he did

or said, he was decided on every day, even to the last. He had a fixed resolution and plan of action, whilst every one else was doubting and hesitating. This was his first act of political good sense.

But although Monk was determined, he was also patient. He could wait until due time for success. A soldier, and acting by means of his army, he was firmly and constantly resolved not to recommence violent measures and a civil war. He understood that, to be securely established, the Monarchy must be restored pacifically and naturally, as a national necessity and the last refuge of the country. Disregarding the impatience and mistrust of others, he restrained, dissimulated, delayed, and waited, until the event took place, as it were, of itself. And when the event had taken place, Monk desired that, in the letters patent which were destined to commemorate his good fortune and glory, the words, *Victor sine sanguine* (a bloodless conqueror) should be inserted, to show that his prudence had been the result of reflection and of choice.

The monarchical party, also, acted sensibly. It occupied a less difficult position then, than it does in France at the present day. It was not wavering between two or three monarchies; all were in favour of one and the same aspirant to the throne. The party was nevertheless composed of very different elements. Some had caused the revolution, while others had opposed it. They had fought boldly with each other, either for or against the King whose son they now proposed to restore. Opposite ideas, passions, and interests separated them; but they postponed their dissensions. Until their success was complete, they made their opposite ideas, passions, and interests give way before the idea, the passion, and the interest which they had in common. They subordinated that which they would have preferred to that which they desired. This is the touchstone of the political intelligence of parties.

The English Royalists did even more than this. They confided the execution of their design to a man whom they distrusted, and whom they had good reason to distrust. Monk

had served the King, the Revolution, the Republic, Cromwell, and the Parliament. He was utterly incomprehensible and obscure. He frequently said one thing and did another; and he lied with a cool audacity which startled his most intimate confidants. As far as he was concerned, the Monarchical party was full of doubt and disquietude, passing alternately from hope to fear, and from glimpses of light to thick darkness. But neither their doubts, fears, and desires, nor the obscurities of Monk, could mislead the Royalists. Monk was the man whom the crisis at once offered to them and forced upon them. Altogether, they had more reasons to hope from him than to distrust him; and, moreover, they were compelled to accept him. The Royalists felt this and acted accordingly. They did not repose blind confidence in Monk, but they discreetly supported his views, drawing him on without compromising him, obedient to his advice, and watching quietly, but vigilantly, behind him, as behind a leader of their choice. For a leader there must be, to execute plans of this kind; and no leader can be of real service who is not allowed to choose his own method of proceeding, and vigorously sustained in all he undertakes. Success rewarded the good conduct of the Monarchical party and their leader.

Peoples, parties, or individuals, indeed, men in general, at the great turning-points of their destiny, may be deceived in two different, but equally fatal ways. Sometimes, undecided and discouraged, they give up all hope, remain as inactive as unconcerned spectators, and resign their fate to that unknown Power which, according to their faith or their impiety, they call Providence, fatality, or chance. Sometimes, blindly confident and heedless, they act according to the caprices of their imagination or desires, believing that everything is possible to them, and that nothing will prevent them from succeeding in the way they wish and hope. God does not tolerate or leave unpunished either of these errors. He wills that men should take their share in the management of their own business, and should accept its toil as well as its

chances. And, at the same time, he does not suffer men to imagine that they can dispose of events at their will, and that all circumstances will bend to their interests or caprices. With regard to those who will do nothing for themselves, but wait until God shall deliver them from their troubles, God also waits and lets them suffer. To those, whose presumption leads them to think they can obtain all that they desire, God sends obstacles and hindrances which compel them to acknowledge that there are around them forces, rights, and interests, other than their own, and with which they must make terms. Good policy consists in recognising beforehand these natural necessities, which, if disregarded, would presently become Divine lessons, and in ordering our conduct with due regard to their existence.

I do not wish to say anything about the Revolution of February. I am not the man whom it behoves to speak of that occurrence at the present time. But I cannot believe, and there is not a single Frenchman who can be satisfied to believe, that that revolution was the crowning event of the glorious history of France. It suits the daring disposition of my country to plunge, no matter at what cost or peril, into vast and unheard-of experiments. France, we may say, seems to consider herself the grand laboratory of the civilisation of the world. But if she is quick to run into danger, she is also quick to bethink herself and retrace her steps, when she perceives that she has taken the wrong road, and is about to fall. Already has she stayed her progress under the shadow of a great name; but a salutary halt is not safety. It is not enough that France is prevented from falling into the abyss: the abyss must be filled up, and France recover herself. To effect this, she needs the assistance of a Washington or a Monk. Which of the two will Providence grant us?

I am anxious to throw upon the event which forms the subject of this sketch, all the light that can be collected, so as to render it more comprehensible to us. With this view, I publish, in continuation of my narrative, seventy-one despatches or fragments of despatches, addressed, in 1659 and 1660, to

Cardinal Mazarin, and M. de Brienne, by M. de Bourdeaux, at that time French ambassador at London. These documents have been taken from the archives of the department of Foreign Affairs at Paris. It is curious to notice how the representative of Louis XIV. at Cromwell's court daily collected information, and strove to influence the progress of Monk towards the restoration of the Stuart dynasty.

I also publish a letter addressed to Monk by Richard Cromwell, fifteen days before the restoration of Charles II., in order that, as he says, "when the Parliament shall be met, you would make use of your interest on my behalf, that I be not left liable to debts which, I am confident, neither God nor conscience can ever reckon mine . . . having this persuasion of you that, as I cannot but think myself unworthy of great things, so you will not think me worthy of utter ruin." This is, indeed, a singular mixture of humble modesty and recollections of former greatness.

In 1838, shortly after the publication of my first essay on Monk in the *Revue Française*, the Hon. J. Stuart Wortley, then a member of the House of Commons, but who now sits as Lord Wharncliffe in the House of Lords, translated and published it in London. To his translation he added an introduction and notes replete with historic interest and value. In revising and recasting my essay at the present time, I have made use of Lord Wharncliffe's work, both to correct some inaccuracies which had crept into my own sketch, and to borrow some notes which either explain or complete the statements I have made.

GUIZOT.

Val Richer, *October*, 1850.

MONK:

AN HISTORICAL STUDY.

1608—1670.

Among the men who have played a part upon the great stage of history, the fate of Monk has been remarkable. At once celebrated and obscure, he has connected his name with the restoration of the Stuarts, but has left us almost no other memorial of himself. On one day, we behold him distinguished above all others, and disposing of a throne and a people; on the days which precede and follow it, we can scarcely catch a glimpse of him in the crowd with which he mingles. He is one of those men whose lives contain only a single day upon which their character and faculties, their virtues or vices, can display themselves in their full energy and imperiousness; yet these are men whom it is important to study closely, for it is only when we know them thoroughly that we can rightly understand the rapid drama in which they performed the leading part, and the event which they alone were able to accomplish.

George Monk, second son of Sir Thomas Monk, a gentleman of the county of Devon, was born on the 6th of December, 1608, at the manor-house of Potheridge, the hereditary residence of his family, which was one of the most ancient and respectable in the county. But the estate had long been in great disorder, and Sir Thomas, like many other gentlemen at that period, was able to maintain his rank only by ruinous expedients. George Monk was under seventeen years of age when Charles I. visited Plymouth, in 1625, the very year of his accession to the throne, to superintend the equipment of the expedition which he intended to send against Spain. The gentlemen of the county assembled round the king, anxious to appear before his eyes with a splendour befitting the occasion. Sir Thomas Monk, among others, made preparations for going; but, alarmed by the proceedings of a creditor

who threatened to arrest him, he sent his son George to Exeter, to persuade the under-sheriff, by the offer of a small sum, to delay the execution of the writ. The under-sheriff accepted the money, promised what was asked, and, a few days afterwards, having probably received a larger bribe from the other side, had Sir Thomas publicly arrested, in the midst of the gentlemen who had assembled to meet the king. Indignant at this treachery, young Monk hastened to Exeter, and, had he not been rescued by some neighbours, the man of law, whom he stoutly belaboured, would have had great difficulty in escaping from his hands. It now became necessary for our hero to evade the probable consequences of his adventure. The squadron destined to cruize before Cadiz, in the hope of intercepting the Spanish galleons, was just ready to set sail; Sir Richard Greenville, Monk's near relative, served with it; and George Monk, intrusted to his care, found a refuge on board his ship, and was enrolled as a volunteer; thus cast by chance, and when he had only just emerged from childhood, into a career to which he was destined both by his parents and his inclination.

Fortune proved unfavourable to him in the choice of his first campaign and his first patron. Although Sir Richard Greenville had not yet found an opportunity for displaying that harsh and imperious rapacity which he subsequently manifested during the civil war, he was ill adapted to exercise a salutary influence over his cousin; and the example of the dashing young courtiers, who had embarked on board the fleet to seek, in a hazardous expedition, some diversion from their frivolous pleasures, might be dangerous to the younger son of a ruined family, whose only wealth was his economy, and whose prospects in life depended entirely upon his good conduct. But George Monk already felt that firm and decided bent, which evil example strengthens instead of destroying; and amid the disorder of his father's house, and the licence of his first companions, he contracted those tastes and habits of order which, in after-times, contributed so greatly to ensure his success in life. The enterprise against Cadiz, as ill-conducted as it was ill-conceived, failed under the most disastrous circumstances; and the next year, Monk enlisted as an ensign in the expedition of the Duke of Buckingham against the Isle de Rhé, and witnessed a second time the spectacle of shame and misfortune which the presumptuous ignorance of a

favourite may occasion. Of this event he retained a bitter recollection, which he frequently expressed when relating the occurrences of his youth. In 1629, a year after his return from the Isle de Rhé, he went to Holland, where he entered the regiment of the Earl of Oxford.

Germany and the Low Countries were, at this period, the resort of those young Englishmen whose taste, or the state of whose fortunes, led them to embrace the profession of arms, as well as of those whose activity languished in their own country, which was at peace with Europe, and had not yet begun to struggle for its own liberty. Whoever was tormented by a desire for action, went to satisfy it in distant wars, which had no other attraction for him than the game of war, with its emotions and its chances. Whoever felt that he was capable of gaining renown by his valour, went to dispose of it in the best market. Thus was formed a race of men inured to danger, watchful over their own interests, imperturbable in those habits of calculation which made their very lives a merchandise, uniting brilliant actions with vulgar feelings, indifferent to moral maxims, yet attached to certain duties, and trained by their occupation to dispense with virtues, and at the same time to keep themselves from many vices. Such were the greater number of those officers whom England then sent abroad to gain instruction and advancement in foreign wars, and who, at a later period, under the name of soldiers of fortune, played an important part in her civil wars. Although devoid of principle, they were not wanting in a certain kind of honour; and when fortune plunged them into the midst of the vicissitudes of political parties, they resigned themselves to their fate with a coolness not unmingled with repugnance, never breaking without pain the engagement which they had first contracted, and rarely determining to quit, before their time, the standard to which they had temporarily hired their courage and fidelity. Caring little for their country, they entertained warm feelings of brotherhood towards the men whose dangers they had shared; and thus, though doubtful citizens, they were excellent comrades. Indifferent to the sufferings of the people, they knew how to spare those of the soldier; and, orderly even in their violence, they did not aggravate it by the evil of confusion. Their brutality was harsh, but not ferocious; their rapacity was subject to the laws of discipline; and that disgraceful

love of pillage, which made the noble Cavaliers* the terror of England, has rarely been charged upon the soldiers of fortune. Monk was one of them, superior to all in talent, but similar to all in his tastes and necessities; his genius rose with circumstances, but his sentiments remained unchanged. He did great things without conferring great lustre upon himself, and carried into the destiny of the man who changed the face of an empire, some of those habits of mind and heart which had been formed in him by the obscure fortune of a mercenary soldier.

After several years of service, he obtained a company in the regiment of Lord Goring, which was almost exclusively composed of volunteers, for the most part rich and of high birth, and consequently but ill-disposed to submit to the rigours of discipline. Monk arrived among them, the only one who thoroughly understood his profession; invested with that authority which remarkable and marked courage gives among men of spirit: grave, exact, regular in his manners—at least for a soldier; and, according to the statement of Gumble, his chaplain, punctual in the fulfilment of the duties of his religion, which he respected as much as his military duties. He soon gained over those whom he commanded that ascendancy which belongs to the man who has in himself a natural right to command; he made himself at once loved and obeyed, and many of his subordinates, in the course of their after-lives, thanked him for the benefit which they had derived from his severity.

He had served in Holland for nearly ten years, when, towards the end of the year 1638, he was placed in winter-quarters at Dort. His soldiers committed some disorders, and the magistrates of the town wished to take cognizance of the offence. Monk maintained that a court-martial alone had any right to try the case. The matter was referred to Frederic Henry, Prince of Orange, who was at that time stadtholder. In a previous case of a similar nature, he had decided in favour of military authority; but this time, either out of respect for the privileges of the town of Dort, or because his opinions had changed, judgment was pronounced in favour of the magistrates, and Monk was obliged to leave

* This name, as my readers are doubtless aware, was given to those gentlemen who, during the civil war, took arms to support Charles I. against the parliament.

Dort for much less comfortable quarters. Wounded in his honour as a soldier, he forthwith determined to leave the service of Holland; and the more willingly, because England was on the point of offering him useful employment for his talents and courage.

The religious differences which, for more than a year, had revolted Scotland against the government of Charles I., were already approaching their crisis—the prelude to so many others. On both sides, active preparations for attack or defence were being made; and to maintain a war which was detested by his people, and disdained by his courtiers, whom it would merely annoy without enriching, Charles was obliged to seek the assistance of those officers who, trained to arms in foreign lands, were indifferent to the opinions of their countrymen, and accustomed even to set little value upon their own. They flocked in great numbers to his army, which had also been recruited by a considerable number of country gentlemen, who were eager and proud to approach the court. Monk had, in his childhood, imbibed some presbyterian notions; but, as he was not greatly troubled with religious scruples, he entered without repugnance into the service of Anglican intolerance against the liberty of conscience then demanded by the Scotch presbyterians*; and, full of zeal for the cause which offered him employment, he obtained, through the good offices of the Earl of Leicester—a connexion of his family—the rank of lieutenant-colonel, in the regiment of the Earl of Newport, general of the ordnance.

The people of England were opposed to the war with Scotland; public aversion delayed its first blows; and before any blood had been shed, the treaty of Berwick, concluded on the 18th of June, 1639, declared that the campaign was over, but without putting an end to the animosities which had caused its commencement. The English and Scotch armies, which, according to the terms of the treaty, had both been disbanded within forty-eight hours, remained ready to reassemble at the first order. It was not long before a fresh outburst took place; and, on the 1st of August, 1640, Monk, at his post on the Scottish frontier, by the banks of the Tyne,

* The presbyterians were that party who wished to introduce a democratic revolution into the Anglican church; and who, in the state, sustained the parliament against the king, although they wished for the maintenance of royalty.

took part in the affair of Newburne, an engagement unique in this war, and for a moment saved the English from some of its disastrous results. The Scotch, after having crossed the Tyne almost without opposition, marched towards the quarters of the Earl of Newport, in order to gain possession of the artillery; for in the royal army, disorder had not waited for the enemy. Monk, still at the head of his regiment, had for each of his own guns only one ball and one charge of powder; he sent to major-general Astley for some ammunition, and was told, in reply, that there was no more. Upon this, placing his soldiers, armed with their muskets, along the hedges, he presented such an imposing front to the Scotch, that they did not dare to attack him, but allowed him to convey the English artillery to Newcastle, where, together with the place itself, it soon fell into their hands.

Public opinion had prevailed; England refused to defend herself, and the war with Scotland became impossible. In vain did Strafford attempt to influence the army by caresses, threats, and punishments; in vain did he strive to surround himself with men whose views were the same as his own. Monk, summoned to the council, maintained that it was necessary to fight. Strafford was unwilling to suppose that authority could meet with any obstacles; and Monk would not admit that the opinion of the soldiery could affect the fate of a battle, for he had not yet learned to doubt the power of discipline. Their advice was rejected; peace was resolved upon; and long afterwards, when Monk had become the faithful servant of the parliament, he never spoke without indignation of the craven counsels which, in 1640, had rendered useless an army, "fitted," as he said, "to reduce very different troops from those of the covenanters,* and a very different kingdom from that of Scotland."

It appears that at this period, either through discontent at the turn which affairs had taken, or through a desire to try his fortune in a country more tranquil than his own, and in a career more profitable than that of arms, Monk listened to a proposition for founding a colony in Madagascar. The plan, however, failed. The Long parliament had met, and its quarrel with the king daily grew more violent; the insurrec-

* This was the name given to the presbyterians, and especially to those of Scotland, because when they first revolted, they, on the 1st of March, 1638, bound themselves to support each other, by a civil and religious compact, known by the name of the *covenant*.

tion of Catholic Ireland* offered every Englishman a national cause to defend, and every soldier a war to wage, without pledging himself to either party. The recent execution of Strafford† had left the government of Ireland vacant; and this office was conferred upon the Earl of Leicester, together with the command of the troops destined to quell the revolt. Every commander of an army had his own regiment; and Monk was appointed colonel of that of Leicester.

The parliament, about to engage in the civil war, had at that time too urgent need in England of its troops and money, to employ them in succouring the Irish Protestants, whose misfortunes they could so easily and so profitably impute to the king. Though supplies were continually promised and voted, they were never ready; or else they were diverted from their destination, or appropriated by Charles himself, who, whilst he complained of the indifference of the parliament to the deplorable situation of the Anglo-Irish, did not scruple to apply to his own use their powder and muskets, even taking them from the arsenal of Dublin. Some regiments were at length sent over, and among others that of the Earl of Leicester; but the earl himself stayed at home; not being at all eager to place himself at the head of a government without resources, of a wasted country, and of an army scarcely formed, and worse paid, he remained in London, leaving the command in Ireland to the Earl of Ormonde, lieutenant-general *ad interim*. Ormonde was a royalist, and, though himself a Protestant, belonged to a Catholic family; but he was one of the chief nobility of Ireland, and the only man with sufficient influence to counterbalance the formidable popular power which the insurrection had called into existence. On the first news of the rebellion, the king had appointed Ormonde commander-in-chief of the army, as being a man upon whose fidelity he could depend; the lords-justices, who were invested with the civil authority at Dublin, had had recourse to him, seeing that they could hope for assistance from no other person near them; and the parliament had accepted him, because they could not do otherwise.

It was on the 21st of February, 1642, that Monk dis-

* On the 23rd of October, 1641.

† Eight days after the re-assembling of the Long parliament, on the 11th of November, 1640, this great and despotic minister of Charles I. was impeached by the House of Commons, revolutionarily condemned on the 21st of April following, and executed on the 12th of May.

embarked at the port of Dublin at the head of a regiment of fifteen hundred infantry, and accompanied by four hundred cavalry under the command of Sir Richard Greenville. These troops had been preceded, about six weeks before, by the arrival of fourteen hundred men, the first whom England had sent to Ireland since the commencement of the rebellion. Of these fourteen hundred men, three hundred had arrived unprovided with arms, and all were without provisions, without ammunition, and without money, in a country exposed to the ravages of two rival parties. The most pressing necessity was not to lead these troops to battle, but to provide them with the means of subsistence. The forced supplies had been quickly exhausted, and the contractors, who received no pay, did not again make their appearance. In vain were the most lamentable supplications daily addressed to the king and the parliament; neither parliament nor king were willing to spare anything from what barely sufficed for their own wants. Inadequate supplies of money, provisions, ammunition, and accoutrements, arrived occasionally, and though always long expected, always fell far short of what was required and hoped, and being generally composed of damaged or inferior articles, served only to irritate the despair of the soldiers, thus abandoned in their distress to the cupidity of contractors.

To these causes of disorder was added the uncertainty of the measures of the Irish government; the inevitable vice of a council composed of two hostile parties, who, though obliged to act in concert, laboured only to destroy each other, and were careful merely to maintain a semblance of unanimity until the time when one should feel itself strong enough to dislodge the other. Ormonde was a zealous royalist; the lords justices were zealous parliamentarians. Leicester held his commission from the king, and inactive in London, commanded in the name of the parliament; Ormonde, established in Dublin, asserted the right of the king to appoint to public employments and to decide affairs of war. Conflicts of authority were frequently, and terminated always in favour of the party which at the moment happened to be most powerful. In general the adherents of the king had the advantage. In spite of the pretensions of Leicester, Ormonde, active and present, disposed of most appointments. The army, originally organized by Strafford, had lately received into its ranks the greater number of those officers whom the distrust of the parliament had deemed it wise to remove from England; and

the state of destitution in which it was left was not calculated to calm its discontent. It naturally turned to the two Houses, which were responsible for the evil, as they were in possession of the power. This power, however, itself restrained the feelings which it aroused; and the arrears of pay, as they accumulated, only bound the officers more and more closely to the cause which alone could pay them. Thus suspended between opposite inclinations and interests, and at the same time pressed by common dangers and enemies, the army, in presence of the revolted Irish, felt rather English than parliamentarian or royalist; and the lukewarmness of their political opinions afforded the leaders great latitude in gaining proselytes, and the inferiors much facility in maintaining a good understanding with both parties.

Monk, the most skilful of all, thenceforth began his apprenticeship to that art which he afterwards so dexterously practised,—the art of pushing his fortunes with the dominant party, without losing the confidence of that which might one day prevail. The absence of all passion, an apparent languor of mind, produced by the circumspection of his character, and a natural taciturnity preserved him from the snares of speech; he made little use of it in the conduct of life, except to ascertain the opinions of others, by giving a false account of his own. But his silence was active; with an assiduous but tranquil diligence he maintained relations everywhere that his situation permitted; and without ever appearing to have pledged himself, every one thought they had gained, or could gain him, if necessary. Besides, devoted with indefatigable activity to the difficult duties of the administration which had been intrusted to him, he appeared to be exclusively occupied by it; and the bitterness or distrust of political opinions could hardly reach a man with whom some special and urgent business was always to be transacted.

The military renown of a commander had little to gain in this sad and perilous war, almost always directed against enemies more easy to disperse than to reach, and from whom surprise was more to be feared than resistance. Monk rarely had an opportunity of distinguishing himself, but he never let one escape, and he always displayed, as at Tymochoe and Castle Jordan, the utmost skill and bravery in routing enemies much more numerous than his own troops. The greater number of these expeditions were confined to rapid incursions,

of which the object was devastation, the result pillage, and the march the greatest danger. These incursions were designedly multiplied; since, while they kept the troops employed, they supplied them with provisions for several days at least; but on each occasion it was necessary to go further to find some district to ravage, and the enterprise became every time more difficult for soldiers worn out by fatigue and unprovided with clothes or shoes. Many sank down by the road-side, incapable of proceeding further: more than once they refused to commence their march; and it was often to be feared that an announcement of departure would become the signal for a mutiny. Monk alone knew how to induce them to follow him. As skilful as he was bold, his presence always assured his men of success. "There was not," it was said, "a soldier ever so sick or so ill-shod, who would not make an effort to follow George Monk,"—a familiar name given him by the affection of the soldiers, who are always more disposed to obey when they have in some sort appropriated their commander to themselves, and can recognize a comrade in their leader. Monk, a soldier like themselves, with no other interest but theirs, was to them the object of that confidence which men, in pressing extremities, unreservedly repose in him on whom they think they can depend. Attentive to their wants, careful to remove from them those hardships which he could spare them, as regular in his communications with them as the irregularity of the circumstances in which they were placed would permit, he maintained in their minds that idea of justice which calms the impatience of subordinates, by tranquillizing their imagination, and strengthens the authority of the chief, because it leaves no ground for complaint against him.

Repulsed by degrees, and compelled to concentrate their forces, the Irish insurgents had left at the disposition of the government a large extent of land which, though waste and uncultivated, was likely soon to become fertile. It was at length determined to take advantage of this, and these estates became at once a resource to the army, and to the government a means of still retaining some influence. The privy council gave these lands *in custodiam* to commanders of corps, who had them cultivated by their soldiers, and derived from them a profit which was partially devoted to obtaining the means of subsistence for those who served under their orders. Favouritism usually presided in these distributions. Monk

contrived to obtain a good share, and turned it to advantage with that spirit of order and economy which was natural to him. The habits of labour which was destined to render their condition more endurable maintained obedience and gaiety among his soldiers; and without troubling themselves about the political coquetry to which their leader might be indebted for his credit, they attached themselves to him because he knew how to manage both for himself and for them. The royalist party did not take offence at it. Among men daily exposed to the extremest misery, opinion yielded to more pressing necessities; and few people thought of finding fault with the prudent dissimulation of a general anxious to obtain the arrears of his pay, or to obtain some equivalent which would enable him to wait.

It was not from the king that Monk could then expect the advancement and the favours reserved for men of higher rank and more ardent zeal. The post of governor of the town of Dublin fell vacant. Lord Leicester, immediately informed of it in London, appointed Monk to the office; but a nomination from the king arrived from Oxford a few days after, and it was for Lord Lambert. In vain did the lords-justices of Ireland strive to elude this decision: the preponderance of the royalists daily became more irresistible; and Monk, avoiding this perilous contest, contrived to retire so soon, and with such good grace, as not to compromise himself with the party which had thus disobliged him.

For an instant only he seemed to forget his ordinary circumspection. The pay of the army in Ireland had not been forthcoming since the commencement of the war. The parliament, to appease the dissatisfaction of the officers, and keep them under its power, proposed to fund a portion of their arrears, which it engaged to pay them in lands confiscated from the rebels as soon as by their vote the Houses had declared the subjection of Ireland. A register was to be opened, in which those who consented to the arrangement were to inscribe their names. The officers, who were mostly royalists, and moreover but little convinced that the parliament wished to put an end to this war, objected to this engagement. Some, however, subscribed; and Monk was one of the first to be drawn into the scheme. Reynolds, one of the Westminster commissioners, had offered to him, as well as to some others, to make himself personally responsible to them for the fidelity of the

parliament in fulfilling its promises. Induced, doubtless, by the fear of losing all if he refused this offer, Monk accepted it; but when the names were once inscribed on the registers, Reynolds was in no hurry to give his bond into the hands of those to whom it was to serve as a security. This affair being made public, caused Monk some trouble, and he learned to beware of precipitation even in an act of prudence.

The power of the parliament in Ireland was, however, drawing near its close. Evidently, it was not desirous to bring the war there to an end, and it was unable to sustain it. One of the principal members of the Committee for Irish Affairs, in London, had answered Major Warren, who was sent from Dublin to ask assistance, that "if only five hundred pounds were wanted to save Ireland, they would not be forthcoming." The officers at length resolved to address their complaints only to the king; and at the end of that petition, which was destined to bring about definitively a royalist revolution in the government of Ireland, figured the name of Monk. Already, during the month of February 1643, the parliamentary commissioners had left Dublin, where their position was no longer tenable. At length, on the 1st of August, there arrived from Oxford an order for the imprisonment of the Lord Justice Sir William Parsons, the leader of the parliamentary party, and of those members of the privy council who voted with him. Charles wished, by means of this measure, to remain free to conclude with the Irish insurgents a suspension of hostilities, which they, as well as himself, had long desired. It was signed on the 15th of September; and immediately afterwards Ormonde prepared to send a portion of the Irish army to the assistance of the king. He chose, for the purpose of being transferred to England, those regiments of which he thought himself most sure, and made them take an oath to serve the king against the army of the Earl of Essex, and every other parliamentary commander. Two officers only refused to take it: Monk was one of them. His political opinions leaned more towards the king than towards his enemies; but having been absent from England for more than eighteen months, he could not, without some investigation, decide with safety between the two parties: he had, besides, other interests to consider; and the hope of obtaining his pay from the parliament, before he took service against it, was, it appears, the prevailing and even avowed reason of his refusal. This reason was

accepted, and Ormonde consented to let him leave for London; but an incident occurred to derange Monk's plans, and constrain him to decide more promptly than he wished.

There are occasions when even circumspection compromises, and when carefulness to displease neither party exposes a man to the suspicions of all. The parliament, incensed at the suspension of hostilities which Charles had just concluded with the Irish insurgents, had resolved openly to separate, in Ireland as elsewhere, its interests from those of the king. They deliberated on the choice of a lieutenant-general whom they could effectively oppose to the earl, recently created marquis, of Ormonde. Lord Lisle, eldest son of the Earl of Leicester, was proposed, and declared that he was sure to be joined by Monk and some other colonels of the army. The king was informed of Lord Lisle's promises, and Lord Digby reported them to Ormonde, but without attaching importance to them; for he said he had always heard those officers spoken of as men of honour. Digby at the same time wrote a persuasive letter to Monk, in which, treating him as an affectionate servant of the king, he pressed him to come and devote to him his services. The suspicion excited at Oxford with regard to Monk would therefore have produced no effect, if it had not been confirmed by another report. A person named Johnson, coming from London, declared that at the committee, while he was waiting for his passport to be signed, Mr. Pym, after having questioned him about the state of the army in Ireland, charged him to seek out Colonel Monk on his behalf, and to persuade him to use his influence with the soldiers, so as to divert them from serving the king, promising him all the assistance he might require, and a reward proportionate to the good offices which were expected from him. This language of Pym proved that, even if Monk had not yet entered into any engagement with the parliamentarians, they at least believed him disposed to be gained over by their favours. This was enough to make the royalists consider it prudent to preserve him from temptation. Instead of allowing him to embark with the troops, Ormonde sent him under a strong guard to Bristol; accompanying this act, however, with a pressing recommendation to the governor of that place to treat Monk well, so long as he was obliged to detain him, while awaiting orders from the king.

There was no longer room for deliberation; Monk arrived

at Bristol a decided royalist; and he soon inspired the governor, Lord Hawley, with so much confidence, that the latter sent him on his parole to Oxford, addressing him directly to the king, and charging him at the same time with letters for Lord Digby. He was received as a man of importance; the king consulted him on several occasions; and Monk, who was better skilled in commanding an army than in governing a party, advised him, if he wished to derive any advantage from his, to reduce it to 10,000 men, well-disciplined, and well-officered. His services appeared more useful than his advice; it was known that "of all the officers in the army, none was so dear to the soldiers;" and it was judged that he would nowhere be so serviceable as in the midst of those whom he had lately commanded. His regiment had been taken from him at the time of his arrest; but the king appointed him major-general of the troops which had come from Ireland, and were then engaged in the siege of Nantwich, under the command of Lord Byron. Monk had scarcely arrived at his post, when Fairfax, by the extraordinary rapidity of his march, surprised Lord Byron, defeated him at Nantwich, on the 25th of January, 1644, and forced him to raise the siege, leaving in the enemy's hands a large number of prisoners, and amongst others, the major-general, who, in the absence of the new colonel, had placed himself at the head of his old regiment. Monk was sent first to Hull, from whence he was, by order of the parliament, immediately transferred to London and confined in the Tower.

There he passed rather more than two years, faithful to the engagement which he had first contracted with the king, and obstinately rejecting the offers of the parliament. He several times solicited his exchange, but in vain; for, in London, they were aware of his importance as a military leader, and were desirous to detain him; whilst, at Oxford, men of a higher rank obtained the preference over him; and he languished in the Tower, a prey to all those miseries which can assail a prisoner without fortune. His father was dead; his elder brother, embarrassed in his affairs, and busily engaged in serving the king, wherever the chances of war might lead him, had but little leisure or means to send him his very moderate allowance. But Monk's connexion with the family of the Earl of Leicester, who had always been devoted to the

parliament, had never been broken off; from them he received some assistance; and at the same time, the king, more constant in remembering him than powerful to serve him, sent him a hundred pounds; a remarkable proof of interest and consideration, when we regard the state of penury in which the court at Oxford were obliged to live.

Meanwhile, events pursued their course. In 1646, the king was a prisoner in the hands of the parliament, and the civil war seemed decidedly at an end. Monk no longer had any choice to make; and, ceasing to be dangerous to the revolutionary party, might become useful to it. Lord Lisle, appointed lieutenant-general of Ireland for one year, was at length thinking of going thither; and Monk was considered a fit person to act as his second. The efforts to gain him over, which now probably became more active, were also more effective. "Money, which he loved dearly," says Clarendon,* "aided Cromwell not a little in obtaining his decision." The necessity, however, of swearing to the covenant still presented an obstacle. Monk's whole life attests the repugnance which he felt for oaths; and this was considering them of some importance. Besides, he was not fond of extreme parties, and an ardently parliamentarian army doubtless appeared to him a bad means for pacifying Ireland. Numerous conferences with men, who being, like himself, prisoners in the Tower, could influence his conscience and his politics, at length determined him to accept the proffered conditions; and on the 13th of November, 1646, a message from the House of Lords informed the House of Commons of Colonel Monk's submission, and requested that, on account of his military talents, he should be employed in the Irish war. The Commons consented to this, induced by Monk's popularity in the army. One member only, Mr. Cawley, opposed it; for what reason we do not know. Monk left his prison to go and serve the parliament, leaving in the Tower the royalists, his companions in misfortune, who notwithstanding his desertion of their cause, never ceased, in their private conversations, to flatter themselves that he would one day be useful to the king.

The king's party was at that time overcome in Ireland, as

* This phrase, which we find in the manuscripts of Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, was omitted in the early editions: it has, however, been restored in the last edition published at Oxford.

elsewhere. The truce concluded with the Catholic insurgents had not effected a sincere and effectual union between them and the Protestant royalists. Without hope that Charles could send him any succour, and stripped of all resources, Ormonde, who would not, at any price, deliver the fate of the Irish Protestants into the hands of the Catholics, had entered into a negociation with the English parliament, to place Dublin and the shattered remains of the government in their possession. The negociation was prolonged very greatly. Parliamentary commissioners and Lord Lisle came successively, the former to Dublin, the latter to Cork, without effecting anything; and Monk had returned to England two months, before the treaty was finally signed on the 19th of June, 1647.

By this treaty, the parliament entered into possession of the government of Ireland, with the exception of the districts occupied by the rebels. It was judged more prudent to divide this government, than to place such great power in the hands of one man. Colonel Jones had the command in Leinster, and Monk in Ulster, a province from which James I. had expelled the inhabitants, that he might establish Scottish colonists there. Resentment and interest had made the dispossessed proprietors the most irreconcileable enemies of the English dominion. Assembled under the leadership of Owen O'Neill, the ablest and boldest of the insurgent chieftains, the *old Irish* (so the exiles of Ulster named themselves) wandered incessantly in arms around their former dwellings, and sometimes penetrated into the very heart of the province; always beaten, but always returning to the charge, and collecting again in one point almost as soon as they were dispersed in another. It was impossible to come to a regular action with them; O'Neill carefully avoided such encounters, and would not have been able to sustain them. It was not so difficult to repel his attacks as to prevent them. Monk succeeded in this by dint of vigilance; and by setting spies to follow O'Neill's footsteps, and taking care to cut off his supplies of provisions and to ravage the neighbourhood of his encampments, he was soon in a condition to fear little from him.

But, in the interior of his government, he had to struggle against graver difficulties. At the commencement of the Irish rebellion, Scotland had sent to the aid of the Scottish

colonists who were settled in Ulster. a body of troops which, under the command of Robert Monroe, had taken possession of the country, and for six years had done with it as they pleased. The *new Scotch* had become an object of hatred to their fellow-countrymen, the *old Scotch*, and all were sufficiently ill-disposed towards the English troops. Monk already excelled in keeping parties at peace, by taking advantage of their hostilities. Under his administration, all recognized his authority; an arbitrary, but generally equitable kind of justice was dispensed; the land was cultivated; and, by his economy in the distribution of booty, and of the small produce of the land, he contrived to maintain the war without assistance, and almost to make his soldiers forget that they were receiving none of their pay; whilst his table, always abundantly supplied, was ever open to his officers, who had scarcely any other means of subsistence.

To the personal animosities which divided the two Scottish populations of Ulster, political dissensions were soon added. The second civil war was breaking out in England;* the parliament of Scotland had declared for the king; its army was already in the field; and Sir George Monroe, a nephew of Robert Monroe, had received a command in it. For some time past, Robert had been requested to join his nephew; and he must have been the more inclined to do this, because the English parliament had of late caused great discontent among the Scottish troops stationed in Ulster, by insisting, though unsuccessfully, that they should return to Scotland, and return without being paid. Distrust of each other daily increased: Monk judged it prudent to end this by a single stroke; and in concert with the old Scotch, towards the middle of September 1648, at the time when Cromwell, victorious at Preston, was crossing the Tweed at the head of the parliamentary army, he fell unexpectedly upon the quarters of Robert Monroe, took possession of Belfast and Carrickfergus, and sent the Scottish army and its general prisoners to England. It was stated, not without some foundation, that Robert Monroe was actually preparing to go and join his nephew, George, in order to serve the royal cause with him; according to some even. his project was to carry off Monk, who had only been beforehand with him. However this may be, the discovery was opportune, and no service

* This was in 1648.

could have been more agreeable to the parliament, and especially to Cromwell, whom this stroke delivered from a portion of his enemies whom he might have feared would cause him trouble. A Thanksgiving service was celebrated at London; Monk received a gratuity of five hundred pounds; a letter of thanks was addressed to him; he was appointed governor of Belfast, and consulted on the choice of the governor of Carrickfergus; and an order was given to propose means for ensuring the payment of his soldiers.

It was urgently necessary to provide for this, for the Marquis of Ormonde had just returned to Ireland to place himself at the head of the Protestant royalists, and conclude a new alliance with most of the Catholic leaders. O'Neill was almost the only one not included in this treaty. The *old Irish*, victims of the government of James I., were bound by no tie to a Protestant dynasty, and their secret wish was to make Ireland an independent kingdom, under the protection of the Pope. Around O'Neill rallied the fanatical Catholics, blindly obedient to the directions of the nuncio Rinuccini. O'Neill had always opposed hindrances to the attempts of the Marquis of Ormonde to reduce all the Irish to obedience to Charles; and he was at that time equally at war with both the royalists and the parliamentarians. But the latter did not cause him much uneasiness, for they were not able to do him much harm. The promises made to Monk for the payment of his troops had not been performed; his soldiers, in their distress, heard that Ormonde's army was well fed and well paid; their affection for their commander was not sufficient to resist so great a seduction; and they deserted in troops, to swell the ranks of the royalists. On their side, the *old Scotch* of Ulster, after having helped Monk against their fellow-countrymen, the soldiers of Monroe, had in their turn abandoned him to join Ormonde. The government at London, then in the hands of the Independents,* and under the influence of Cromwell, was not ignorant of the distress of its army in Ireland, but was not as yet in a position to succour it. To prevent its expulsion or total destruction, by opposing some obstacle to the progress of the royalists, was all that could be

* Such was the name of that religious and political sect which, in 1645, took the empire of the English revolution from the Presbyterians, and, in 1649, decided the execution of Charles I. and the proclamation of a Republic.

attempted. It listened, therefore, to the propositions of the *old Irish* and of Owen O'Neill, who, himself reduced to the most pressing extremities, was ready to treat with either party, according as he might find it his interest and safety to do so. His inclination led him towards the Independents, who were predominant at London, but too weak in Ireland to give him the law, and who, on their side, were rather inclined to show momentary favour to O'Neill and the Irish fanatics, looking upon them as a party whom it would be easy to destroy after they had been made use of to arrest the progress of Ormonde and the Irish royalists, who were much more dangerous enemies. O'Neill had entered into negociations with the Independent leaders by means of the Abbé O'Reilly, his agent in London; and he maintained at the same time, in Leinster and Ulster, a very active intercourse with the parliamentary governors, Jones and Monk. They had been authorized to furnish him secretly with small supplies of money and ammunition, which were always to be paid for by some enterprise against their common enemies. These attacks of a bandit chieftain were insignificant against the powerful royalist confederation which then overspread Ireland, and his alliance compromised instead of serving. The time, however, arrived when Monk had no other resource but to call in and avow this dangerous ally. Of seven hundred men whom he had retained, five hundred left him to pass over to the enemy, "who had money." Meanwhile, Cromwell, appointed lieutenant-general of Ireland, and provided with all the means of success which had until then been refused to his predecessors, had left London on the 10th of July, 1649, with a pompous retinue, on his way to Bristol, where he was to embark with his army. The hope of a speedy deliverance still sustained the last efforts of the parliamentary leaders, when Monk learned that a body of royalists, under the command of Lord Inchiquin, was advancing to besiege Dundalk. Most of the other places held by the parliament were alike besieged or taken: and all intercommunication was cut off. Certain that he would not be relieved, and unable to reckon surely upon the small number of men who surrounded him, Monk demanded of O'Neill that, in virtue of the agreements which had previously been made between them, he should assemble his forces to fall on the royalists as soon as they should approach the town. O'Neill replies that he is ready, but in

want of ammunition. Nevertheless, he sets out on his march; and, on the 25th of July, having arrived with his troops at Glassdromore, about seven miles from Dundalk, he detaches a body of twelve hundred infantry and two hundred cavalry, to escort the ammunition with which Monk was to supply him. The *old Irish* were returning joyfully, conveying the ammunition which they had received from Monk, when they learned that Inchiquin was advancing towards them; they hastened their progress to endeavour to regain the main body of their army, but in vain. Inchiquin came up with them, and carried off their ammunition after a sanguinary conflict, in which five hundred of them were left dead upon the field. The remainder were taken or dispersed; and, says Whitelocke, "few of them escaped without their death-wounds." At the news of this disaster, O'Neill's army, panic-stricken, took to flight, and retired into the county of Longford.

The effect of this check was not less terrible in the little camp of the English attached to the service of the parliament. To behold themselves the allies of the papist O'Neill and of the defeated O'Neill, was a disgrace for which they could not forgive their general. Indignation was now added to the alarm caused by the approach of danger. Monk saw his situation; but, determined to keep it up to the end, he assembled his soldiers, and with that tone of military bluntness which, in him, accompanied the authority of command, inquired of them if they still consented to follow him. "If any one of you," he said, "is averse to fighting in this quarrel, let him speak; he shall receive a pass from me." A single soldier advanced, declaring that his conscience did not permit him to remain in the same cause with O'Neill; and the pass was delivered to him. The others, yielding to the enthusiasm excited by the presence of a leader whom they had not yet learned to disobey, swore with loud shouts to remain faithful to him, and Monk shut himself up with them within the walls of Dundalk. The town was well provisioned; Cromwell was on his way; a few days more, and fortune might again declare for the parliamentarians. Monk hoped to hold out long enough to await the success of his party; but the town was speedily invested by Inchiquin. The enthusiasm now cooled down; both soldiers and officers ran to the ramparts, and, shouting from

thence to Inchiquin's troops, that they would never consent to fight under the orders of O'Neill's ally, they forced Monk to surrender Dundalk. As calm in his disappointment as he had been in his resolution, he did not forget to make his own conditions, and departed with permission to take away what belonged to him.

He was returning to England, tranquilly confident that he had well served those from whom he received his orders, when he met at Bristol, Cromwell, just ready to embark, who informed him of the excitement which the report of his alliance with O'Neill had produced in London. The Protestant feeling of the nation had burst out with an angry energy which it would have been useless to attempt to check. The Independents, whom Monk had obeyed, far from avowing their share in the matter, left him to bear the whole fury of the storm, and, without exactly wishing to sacrifice him to public opinion, refused to expose themselves in his defence. At this news, Monk manifested no indignation.—did not reject the burden thus cast upon him,—but continued his journey to London, bearing with him, besides certain sums of money furnished to him by Cromwell, some pressing letters to the principal leaders.

He found them little disposed to compromise the secret of their own connexion with O'Neill, by giving him hearty support. Among the Presbyterian party, which was passionately opposed to the Independents, the men of ability, persuaded that Monk had not acted without orders, were eagerly pursuing the discovery of a fact so well calculated to injure in popular estimation those who could be convicted of having participated in it. Monk, when interrogated by the council of state and the parliament, took all the blame to himself, without alleging any other excuse than necessity. Long and violent debates took place in the house; some one proposed to commit Monk to the Tower, whereupon another answered, that "it would be better to commit the Tower to him." However, some satisfaction was due to public opinion; it was necessary to divert suspicions of alliance with the Irish papists, or at least to deprive them of all grounds of justification. The Independent party did not hesitate to give itself the lie, by agreeing to a vote that "the government disapproved of Major-general Monk having made peace with the great and sanguinary Irish rebel, Owen Roe O'Neill, and

abhorred all participation in that act." But, having allowed their adversaries this little triumph, the Independents, careful also not to discourage their friends, had a vote passed, that "the parliament, persuaded that Major-general Monk had no object in this but the advantage of the English cause in Ireland, discharged him from any further question in the matter." Monk had reckoned on more sincere and decisive efforts; he was deeply hurt at the turn which the debate had taken, and the accusations which had been allowed to rest upon him unanswered. Prudent men thought that either too much or too little had been done for him; and they blamed the policy, which, says Whitelocke, had been "to beat him, and to stroak him afterwards; and some believe," he adds, "that he never forgot it." Attempts were also made to extenuate the effect of this unfortunate affair on the public; the Independent party printed the articles of Monk's treaty with O'Neill, adding thereto a declaration of the reasons which had led Monk to enter into it; but the public suspected the truth, and were only the more vehement in anathematizing any partisan of the parliament capable of treating with the execrated enemies of the English.

About this period. Monk's elder brother died of a fall from his horse, leaving only daughters. The family property thus devolved upon the major-general, and, under his skilful management, soon recovered from its disorder. Power, at this time, even in its inferior ranks, led constantly to wealth; no service rendered to the dominant party went without its reward. Much has been said of Monk's avarice, and much of his economy; but it does not appear that any one has ever attacked his probity. But when a government becomes a party to venality, legal probity is easy to its agents; and without incurring any accusation, or even any reproach, a commander-in-chief of the army in Ireland might very well make his fortune, if not at the expense, at least in the midst, of soldiers without pay, without shoes, and without clothes.

Cromwell, at the head of the first army which the parliament had sent into Ireland, had quickly subjugated the country by dint of victories and massacres. He had just met with equal success in alarming the conscience of Fairfax about the war which the parliament was meditating against Scotland, then revolted in favour of Charles II.; he had, as it were,

thrust Fairfax out of the command of the troops intended for that expedition, and was proceeding alone to this new triumph. Monk had acquired Cromwell's entire confidence; there was as close an intimacy between them as there can be between two clever and ambitious men, one of whom consents to make his fortune by helping the other on to greatness. Determined to employ Monk near himself, Cromwell first organized a regiment for him, and then appointed him lieutenant-general of the artillery. Monk's military talents assumed in this war the rank which belonged to them. At Dunbar, on the 3rd of September, 1650, Cromwell, hard-pressed by the Scotch, who were superior in numbers, had imprudently brought his army into a confined position, between the sea and the heights occupied by the enemy. There was no other way of retreat than a narrow passage, guarded by a strong body of troops. The general assembled his council; terror had seized all minds; and few officers gave their opinion in favour of an engagement. "Sir," said Monk, "the Scots have numbers and the hills: these are their advantages. We have discipline and despair, two things that will make soldiers fight! these are ours. My advice, therefore, is to attack them immediately, which if you follow, I am ready to command the van." These words put an end to all opposition; and Monk, pike in hand, at the head of his soldiers, forced the passage, which the Scotch, surprised at so vigorous a charge, did not long defend. This success decided the victory.

When Cromwell was obliged to return to England to pursue and attack Charles II. at Worcester.* he left Monk, with six thousand men, to complete the reduction of Scotland; he also left him the example of his conduct in Ireland, and probably some instructions to follow. Monk was persuaded that men constitute the strength of a place; "neither bulwarks nor rocks," he used to say, "are such fortifications as man's flesh." He determined to crush entirely the courage of the enemy. Rapid attacks and sanguinary executions everywhere intimidated resistance. Weakness did not always save, nor was valour always respected. Monk laid siege to Dundee, where all the wealth of southern Scotland had been

* On the 3rd of September, 1651. About a month before, Charles had suddenly determined to transfer the war from Scotland to England, and Cromwell had hastened to follow him.

deposited, as in a place of safety. Lumsden, the governor of the place, a man remarkable for his bravery, was summoned to surrender. His only answer was to offer the besiegers, if they would surrender themselves with their arms and baggage, passes to return home. The town, bravely defended, but ill guarded by the soldiers, who were invariably drunk, was taken by assault, after some resistance, and Monk put to the sword in cold blood, Lumsden and eight hundred of the garrison.* A general outcry was raised against this barbarity. Even his panegyrists appear to have thought that a violent malady, under which Monk nearly sank some time afterwards, might be regarded as a chastisement for the terrible services which he had rendered in this war. It was remarked also, that sixty vessels, laden with the booty obtained at Dundee, perished in sight of port, and almost without a storm, with the treasures which they were conveying to England; as if Providence had at least wished to mark by some sign of its anger, the odious success which it had resolved to permit. The indifferent policy which had combined such cruelties, succeeded in Scotland as in Ireland; all submitted. The Edinburgh road was infested with brigands, known by the name of "moss-troopers;" Monk pursued them, and captured them in their retreat at Dirlton; and to disorder succeeded at last the appearance of peace.

After a short sojourn in England, for the restoration of his health, Monk, at the commencement of 1652, returned to Scotland with St. John, Vane, Lambert, and some other commissioners, who had been sent, with himself, to forward the union of the two nations. Specially charged, as it would appear, with secret instructions from Cromwell, Monk showed himself vigilant and rigorous against the Presbyterians in Scotland, and favourable to the royalist remnants of the party of Montrose; and, in spite of the recollection of his recent cruelties, he laid from thenceforward the foundation of that monarchical popularity, which, notwithstanding contrary appearances, constantly directed towards him the hopes of the Stuarts and their party.

War had now broken out between England and Holland. The two republics had not been able to live in peace for two

* There is much reason to doubt the truth of this statement; it is supported by only one authority, and unmentioned by other writers, both royalists and parliamentarians.

years. In 1653, Monk was appointed to the command of the fleet, in conjunction with Admirals Blake and Dean. On the 2nd of June, the English with ninety-five vessels, and the Dutch with ninety-eight, met and attacked each other off the coast of Flanders. Blake was separated from the main body of the fleet with a squadron of eighteen vessels. Tromp commanded the Dutch fleet. Dean was killed close by Monk at the first broadside; Monk threw his cloak over the admiral's body, forbade his men to haul down their colours, forced the Dutch to retreat, and pursued them during the whole night. The next morning, reinforced by the junction of Blake, he attacked the enemy, captured eleven of their ships, sank six, and compelled the rest to fly. The report became current through Europe, that he had been killed in the action. On July 31, the two fleets again joined battle. The Dutch, who had retreated to their harbours to refit, had the advantage of numbers. Monk, so as not to employ his vessels in guarding prizes, ordered that every vessel captured should be sunk. Thirty perished with their crews, and Tromp was killed in the action at the moment when, sword in hand upon the deck of his ship, he was encouraging his men to fight. The Dutch took to flight, and sued for peace. The English admirals returned to London, to reap the reward of their triumph. The parliament voted them, as marks of honour, golden chains and medals; and, on the day of the dinner given in the city in celebration of the victory, Cromwell himself placed the chain round Monk's neck, and forced him to wear it during the whole festival.

The return of the new admiral was marked by a domestic event which was not without its influence upon his conduct and reputation. Unrefined tastes, and that need of repose in private life which frequently accompanies activity in business, had brought him under the power of a woman of vulgar manners, destitute even of the charms which can seduce, and whose behaviour did not contradict the rumour which placed her origin in a shop, or according to some, in a much less honest profession. She had lived for a long while with Monk, and joined to the power of habit, the authority conferred by an impetuosity of will and words, which disturbed, and sometimes overcame, the cool circumspection of her lover. It has been said that she succeeded, in 1649, in inducing him to marry her; but it is certain that this marriage was not

declared until 1653, for a letter from London, dated on the 19th of September in that year, thus announced the news:— "Our Admiral Monk hath lately declared an ugly common [prostitute] his wife, and legitimated three or four bastards he hath had by her during his growth in grace and saintship." The newsmonger, according to all appearance, had amused himself by adding to the scandal, for Monk is not known to have had a child older than his son Christopher, after him Duke of Albemarle, and born in the course of this same year, 1653. There is, therefore, room for supposing that the birth of this son was the cause of his marriage. Monk, besides, either from sincerity or prudence, maintained that devout appearance which was then indispensable to fortune; and, without falling into the hypocritical jargon of the times, he thought it right to keep his conduct free from all irregularities which might be hurtful to him, even in eyes less severe than those of the saints. It appears certain that his wife used, if not the influence of religion, at least the discourses of its ministers, to induce him to marry her. "Taking no care for any other part of herself," says Clarendon, "she had deposited her soul with some Presbyterian ministers." They declared the necessity of the marriage, and perhaps employed, to decide the general, some of those sermons which his wife, in the course of their union, was careful to use whenever she wanted to tire out his resistance. She was one of the rather ignoble causes, which, at a later period, urged Monk to display his superior faculties, at a great crisis; and she subsequently became, when he had attained high rank, a striking proof of the vulgarity of his habits and tastes.*

But all was then lost sight of in the popularity of Monk's naval victories, the first which, for eleven years, had given the English the pleasure of triumphing over a foreign enemy. To the violently-dissolved Long parliament, the Barebone parliament had succeeded; an assembly of fanatical bigots, who believed their success certain when they had repented over their reverses. Monk was in their eyes the favourite of the Lord. For a moment, their enthusiasm about him disturbed Cromwell. Tired of being incessantly obliged to deceive without ever being able to lead them, Cromwell soon

* This is another of the passages suppressed in the early editions of Clarendon, and restored in that of Oxford.

discovered that he would find only unteachable and unskilful instruments of his will in men who possessed faith, but no knowledge. Resolved to bring them to resign the power of which he was not willing to deprive them, he feared lest they should make Monk a support against his insinuations, and a power against his designs; but he was speedily reassured. Monk accepted the high station offered to him, but without pretending to aim higher; and after a short conference, Cromwell, skilful in discovering weaknesses of which he stood in need, understood that, too much attached to the fortune he had already made to risk it by seeking to increase it, Monk was a sure man so long as he felt himself sure. Cromwell, therefore, pursued his course, without fearing any hindrance on his part. The Barebone parliament allowed itself to be thrust out; and, four days afterwards, on the 16th of December, 1653, a council of officers appointed Cromwell Protector.

Free to choose henceforward between peace and war, Cromwell thought it advantageous to his new dignity to treat with the Dutch upon more favourable conditions than had been granted them by the republican parliament and council of state. Monk disapproved of peace: he did not like the Dutch, who had formerly offended him; participated in the popular prejudices of an Englishman against them; and, as enemies, despised them with all the boldness of a soldier and a conqueror. Besides, he held sway of the sea, and did not expect to be so soon deprived of it. He shared in the public indignation against a treaty which wounded the national pride, as well as injured a great many private interests; and his vehemence in this respect added to his popularity in the country without at all diminishing his credit with the Protector. Appointed to regulate the navy accounts, Monk acquired new titles to popular favour by his proceedings: his protection was granted to all who had justice on their side, or who could plead the services they had rendered; wounded men, widows, and orphans, obtained, by his assistance, the aid to which they were entitled; and those who had been his comrades in danger learned to depend on him in peace as well as in the hour of conflict. One morning, whilst he was sitting at the Admiralty, some thousands of sailors came tumultuously to complain of the delay which occurred before they were paid their share of the prize-money. Monk went out, and pro-

mised them that they should be paid as soon as all the captured ships had been sold. They retired apparently satisfied with this promise. In the afternoon Monk went to Whitehall,* and was relating what had occurred to the Protector, when a messenger came to inform him that a troop more numerous than that which had assembled in the morning was advancing towards the palace, armed with swords, pistols, and bludgeons, and that it had already nearly reached Charing Cross. Monk had given to the sailors one of those promises which he never failed to perform. Indignant that it had not been sufficient, he rushed out of Whitehall, and, followed by Cromwell and some others who hastened after him, ran to meet the mutineers, fell upon them sword in hand, and hitting both right and left, dispersed them even more by his presence than by his blows. In the confusion he had wounded in the nose a man who was there only by chance: he directed that ten pounds should be given to him; "But," said he, "what business had that rook in the midst of a crowd of birds of prey?"

New storms were rising in Scotland. Cromwell now had to defend, instead of achieving his greatness. He could not leave England, and he looked around him for some one to whom he could confide the dangerous power of representing him among the Scotch. Fleetwood, his son-in-law, and Desborough, his brother-in-law, were both incompetent. He did not dare to entrust Lambert with such a mission at a distance from him; for, though ill-adapted to succeed, he was ready to undertake much. He resolved to confide it to Monk with all the precautions of distrust. The body of troops which he gave him was composed of the most restless and fanatical soldiers in the army. He was aware of Monk's aversion to such men; and knowing also that Monk was in a certain degree suspected by them, he calculated that they would mutually watch over each other.

Monk arrived in Scotland on the 23rd of April, 1654. Everywhere he found ferment and trouble: on one side, Middleton, at the head of the insurgent royalists in the Highlands; on the other, the people discontented and ready for sedition; the army, without discipline, abandoned to all sorts of religious folly, and at open war with the presbyterian

* The palace of Charles I., built by the celebrated architect, Inigo Jones, and in which Cromwell resided. This palace was twice destroyed by fire, viz., in 1691 and 1698.

clergy, whom it had driven from the churches and the pulpit. Monk thought that there was an urgent necessity for employing their ardent imaginations in works of greater difficulty; and having quickly made his preparations, he left some troops to keep the Lowlands in order, and entered the Highlands with the rest of his army. Here they found, if not many enemies to combat, at least fatigues enough to make them daily feel in need of repose. He had divided his forces into two bodies, one commanded by himself, and the other by General Morgan, in order to harass the enemy on all sides. His first care was to possess himself, as he advanced through the country, of every post capable of defence. Having one day arrived at the house of one Campbell, laird of Glenorchie, he found it fitted to receive a small garrison. The laird refused to yield it up. "Well," said Monk, "I will not violate hospitality;" and he immediately ordered the officers who accompanied him to evacuate the house. "Now," said he to the laird, "look to the defence, for we are about to attack." The laird, although surrounded by a considerable number of his friends and relations, judged it prudent to treat, and consented to receive a garrison, on condition that a portion of his house should remain at his own service.

Monk had established large magazines of fodder and biscuit at Leith, St. Johnstoun, and Inverness; from whence he drew provisions for all his small posts, and thus always had the necessary supplies within his reach. He made each soldier take with him provisions for six days; and laden only with this light baggage, he was able to penetrate into fastnesses which until then the Highlanders had considered inaccessible. The horses were not always able to follow him: many fell among the precipices; and one day he lost forty-one in a morass. But in these unknown districts, in the midst of enemies ambushed everywhere along his route, his vigilance never allowed the foe to gain the slightest advantage over him. Informed by the spies whom he maintained in all quarters, he regulated his marches by certain information. They were short. Arriving almost always by mid-day at the place where he intended to encamp, he himself chose the position, marked the enclosure, posted the sentinels, looked to everything, and sent out foraging or exploring parties; then seating himself on the ground, in the midst of his officers, he took a repast of cold meat,—a species of provision which

always followed him in abundance, and which he almost invariably shared with them. During the evening he received them in his tent, at a table covered with everything that the country could furnish. His soldiers relied as much upon his active vigilance as upon the walls of a citadel. He attended to their supply of food, provided as he best could for their lodging, watched over them in difficult circumstances; and even had, in cases of necessity, recipes and remedies for their ailments. He thus in every sense overran the enemy's country, restraining some, and making others fly before him; perplexing and starving Middleton, who, destitute of magazines and strongholds, had reckoned upon finding the means of subsistence and defence in the country itself, his possession of which would, he thought, be disputed by none. Neither party were desirous to come to an engagement. Middleton did not think himself strong enough to sustain a battle, and Monk was sure that he could do without one. The secret communications kept up by Cromwell in the country, and the pardon promised to those who submitted, had weakened the resolution of the Scottish chiefs; and rendering it impossible for Middleton to risk an engagement, constrained him to allow his forces to be destroyed in detail. However, Morgan having surprised and defeated him at Loch Garry, that check destroyed at a blow the languishing remnant of the party. Middleton retired into the island of Skye, from whence he passed into Holland. The country submitted. The army did not, however, retire until it had, by the establishment of a certain number of garrisons, ensured the payment of the taxes, which up to that time the inhabitants of the Highlands had thought they could refuse with impunity; and order was established in these refuges of robbers to so great an extent, that it is said the proprietor of a strayed horse sent the crier round the country to recover it.

Monk returned to Edinburgh towards the end of August 1654. Armed with the power of a conqueror, he used it with severity. The Anabaptists were repressed; the Presbyterians received full liberty to exercise their worship, but were forbidden to interfere in civil affairs with the arm of excommunication, and to manifest their opinions of the measures of the government. The conventicles were strictly sought after, and dispersed of their own accord at the sight of a squadron. A Scottish gentleman no longer had permission to wear a sword, to ride

a horse of more than a certain value, to raise his banner against his personal enemies, or to exercise arbitrary jurisdiction over his vassals and domestics. All had to yield to a yoke which, though harsh, was equitable; rendered tolerable by regularity, and not aggravated by insolence. The army was kept in as much subjection as the country. No disorder was permitted, no injustice tolerated, either on the part of the officer towards the soldier, or of the soldier towards the citizen. The troops, well paid, brought prosperity to trade and repose to the country. Quiet but indefatigable in his activity, the general had fixed his residence at Dalkeith, a mansion belonging to the Earls of Buccleugh, which he had taken on lease, and where he spent the five years of his command in Scotland. There, always at work or in his plantations, which he was fond of as a recreation and employment, he gave access to all, listened to everything they had to say; had a language for all ranks, all classes, and all parties; kept himself well acquainted with all occurrences; and learning what he had to fear or watch, directed, by his own personal knowledge, the numerous spies whose reports never reached any other ears or hands than his own. He thus spared himself those useless vexations which excite even more hatred against a suspicious government than the rigour of its proceedings.

Towards the month of June 1655, when Scotland was completely subjugated, Cromwell appointed for its government a commission composed of Lord Broghill, as president, Monk, Desborough, and Colonels Howard, Lockhart, Scroop, and Wetham. Their powers were very extensive; and the majority which Monk constantly had in this council placed them nearly all in his hands. Dalkeith was really the centre of the government; and the Scottish nobility, Monk's obsequious politeness towards whom palliated the harshness of his authority, learned to approach him, and to derive, from his feelings with regard to the proscribed dynasty, a confidence which he never authorized in such a manner as to be afterwards obliged to discourage it.

A servant of Cromwell, but the hope of the royalist party, and inflexible in denying any immediate intervention of the Lord in public affairs, Monk was necessarily an object of hatred to all religious and political fanatics. This hatred had burst out during the early part of his residence in Scotland. Overton, the major-general of his infantry, a millenarian

enthusiast and leader of the malcontents, had formed the plan of seizing the command of the troops and declaring against Cromwell. The conspirators intended to surprise Monk at Dalkeith on the 1st of January, 1656. Some wished that he should be killed; but Samuel Oates,* a minister, opposed this, threatening to reveal all, if his murder were contemplated. This opposition caused the postponement of the conference to another day. Monk, informed of the plot, towards the end of December, arrested Overton and several of his accomplices, and sent them to London. A great many others were cashiered; and Monk took advantage of this occurrence to be more stringent in his army against that fanaticism and independence which were so obnoxious to him.

This conspiracy was the only one which he had to guard against during his stay in Scotland. Royalist plots became at this period more numerous. They multiplied around Cromwell; but with respect to Monk, the efforts of the party took another direction. As early as the year 1655, he had received the following letter from Charles II.:—

"Cologne, Aug. 12, 1655.

"One who believes he knows your nature and inclinations very well assures me, that notwithstanding all ill accidents and misfortunes, you retain still your old affection to me, and resolve to express it upon the seasonable opportunity, which is as much as I look for from you. We must all patiently wait for that opportunity, which may be offered sooner than we expect. When it is, let it find you ready; and in the meantime have a care to keep yourself out of their hands, who know the hurt you can do them in a good conjuncture; and can never but suspect your affection to be as I am confident it is towards your, &c. "CHARLES REX."

Monk sent a copy of this letter to Cromwell. Whatever

* Mr. Maseres, in his *Select Tracts*, has supposed that this Oates, whose Christian name is not given by Price, who relates the occurrence, was the famous Titus Oates. I had expressed doubts of the correctness of this assertion, in my *Collection of Memoirs relative to the English Revolution* (Memoirs of Price, p. 148, note), but without alleging any other reasons than the impossibility of the fact. The error is now demonstrated. The Oates here mentioned is Samuel Oates or Otes, chaplain of Colonel Pride's regiment, as we see by his signature at the end of a letter addressed by several members of the party to Major Holmes, of Monk's regiment. (Intercepted Letter of December 18, 1644. Thurloe, State Papers, vol. iii. p. 30.)

might be his bias or anticipation, he never forestalled the future: and always solely occupied in securing his present position, he left time to decide what he might have to do. Already too powerful not to give umbrage to the power which he served, he was sufficiently strong to render it dangerous to attack him, unless he supplied weapons against himself. By avoiding the least pretext for suspicion, he derived strength from the very fears which he inspired; and Cromwell, now able only to watch him, felt that he was escaping from his hands.

During the last years of Cromwell's protectorate and Monk's residence in Scotland, we may observe the growth, on the one side, of disquietude, and, on the other, of assurance and power, although always accompanied by forms of unlimited respect, and appearances of unbounded devotedness. If Monk congratulates the protector on the resolution he has taken to convoke a parliament, the special advantage which he perceives in such a step is, that if this new assembly behaves badly, no one can blame his highness for transacting the business of the nation without it.* In 1657 he requests that the taxation of Scotland may be diminished, and insists upon the motives of justice which ordain that, as that country had been united to England, it should be placed upon a footing of real equality with her; "then," he adds, "in case they be not quiet, I think it were just reason to plant it with English."† But he nevertheless pursues his demands with firmness. During the same year, being consulted, as it appears, by Cromwell, about the plan which the government had formed of interfering in the appointment of the magistrates of Glasgow, he exhibits in forcible terms the illegality and danger of such an attempt.‡ The next year he solicits assistance for the city of Edinburgh, which had been reduced to extreme difficulty by its debts and poverty.§ Monk is no longer the mere man of power, busied in restraining and subduing; he is a man of the country, touched by its interests, careful of its rights, and attentive to its wants. Cromwell is uneasy, and fears to displease him, but would willingly weaken him; he withdraws from him those officers and regiments upon whom he can reckon most surely,

* Monk to Thurloe, July 1, 1656.
† Monk to Thurloe, June 4, 1657.
‡ Monk to Thurloe, September 24, 1657.
§ Monk to Thurloe, March 17, 1658.

to replace them by the most restless of that party over which Monk has no power, and against which he has always practised and recommended severity. An order from the council of state directs a reduction of the number of troops stationed in Scotland. Monk represents the folly of such a step; Cromwell recalls the order, but with so much delay, that Monk, who is desirous to maintain himself, and not to quarrel, regretfully announces that he has obeyed. About this same time the hopes of the royalists revive in Scotland; a descent is talked of; the whole nation becomes agitated. "They are as malignant," writes Monk, "as ever I knew them. But," he adds, elsewhere, "I do not see them look so much after Charles Stuart's business, but the hopes they have of discontent among ourselves."* It is under such circumstances that Monk is summoned to London to form a part of Cromwell's new House of Lords, which, ashamed and embarrassed at its own existence, timidly announced itself as the *other House*. Monk represents the necessity of his remaining in Scotland;† and whether or not Cromwell had the intention of withdrawing him from thence, he yields to his arguments, and Monk remains at Dalkeith, whence it was perhaps difficult to dislodge him, but whither it would have been easy not to send him back.

Meanwhile the rumours, which are the precursors of tempests, spread on all sides: the presentiment of another revolution fills all minds; the eyes of Europe are fixed upon England, and Monk is the object of all conjectures. Thurloe, the secretary of state, warns Lockhart, Cromwell's ambassador in France, against the report that Monk has refused to obey the protector; and he assures Downing, the resident in Holland, of the falsity of the same rumour. Finally, Cromwell writes thus to Monk, in the postscript of a letter: "There be that tell me that there is a certain cunning fellow in Scotland, called George Monk, who is said to lie in wait there to introduce Charles Stuart. I pray use your diligence to apprehend him, and send him up to me;"—a joke doubtless destined to inform Monk that Cromwell was upon his guard.

The genius of one man was being wasted in maintaining his power, without succeeding in establishing it, when Cromwell died on the 3rd of September, 1658. The last breath of his influence lifted his son to the protectorate for a few days.

* Monk to Thurloe, June 13, 1658.

† Monk to Thurloe, January 9, 1658.

Monk did not refuse to join in this movement, but he took in it the position which befitted him; and the remonstrance which, when he recognized Richard Cromwell, he addressed to him by means of his brother-in-law, Dr. Clarges, is written in the tone of a man whose advice must be listened to. In his opinion, Richard can be securely established only by means of the Presbyterian party, which he (Monk) regards as the national party; and in doing this, Richard will have more facilities than his father, "having not the same obligations to many disquieted spirits." He recommends the new authority to establish unity of religion in essential points, and liberty in all those which are not essential: he insists upon the necessity of reducing the army, and withdrawing all fanatical sectaries from it—a measure which would be unattended by danger, whatever might be said about it; for "there is not," he writes, "an officer in the army, upon any discontent, that has interest enough to draw two men after him, if he be out of place." Finally, he recommends Richard, when he convokes a parliament, to introduce into his House of Lords all the old nobility upon whom he can reckon, and some of the influential gentlemen of the different counties, amongst whom he mentions Sir George Booth.

The new protector was proclaimed at Edinburgh, coldly, and with the indifference attaching to an insignificant ceremony. People there felt themselves out of the reach of the power which was then endeavouring to establish itself in England, and without any interest in its destinies. "Why not rather old George?" said the soldiers and subalterns: "he would be fitter for a protector than Dick Cromwell." After this act of adhesion, Monk, sheltered from the storms which were gathering at a distance, resolved to await the moment when the safest course should present itself to him, and meanwhile not to adopt or reject either.

Richard was in want of money; to obtain it, it was necessary to assemble a parliament. It was filled, as much as possible, with the creatures of Cromwell. But a parliament, of whatever kind, was incompatible with the government of the army, the sole support of the protectoral power: and the republican party, the only one which then dared to stir, had entered into the House of Commons in sufficiently large numbers to hamper at least the measures of the protector and his court. Richard liked neither the republicans, who were

troublesome to an authority which he little cared to exercise, but which he wished to possess at his ease, nor the fanatical Independents, who formed the active portion of the army, and whose enthusiasm was repugnant to his natural good sense and the levity of his disposition. The army was soon almost as discontented with Richard Cromwell as with the parliaments; and its principal leaders, with Lambert and Fleetwood at their head, met at Wallingford House, and consulted together as to how they could undo what they had done. To these revolutionary soldiers, no task could have been less difficult; for they only needed to substitute a phantom of a government in the place of the phantom they had driven away. The Long parliament, or at least that remnant of the Long parliament which has since been called the *Rump*, offered itself, and was accepted. Already reduced, by various exclusions, to a number far inferior to that of which i was originally composed, it had finally, in the year 1648, and under the influence of Cromwell, been *purged*, by the army, of all the Presbyterian party. Out of seventy-eight members who remained present after the purification had taken place, twenty-eight had retired, protesting against the violence; and the fifty or sixty members who remained at Westminster, had sanctioned the measures of the army, and alone formed the parliament during the six weeks which preceded the death of the king.

After this act, and when the republic had once been proclaimed, several of those who had withdrawn in disgust or fear, had successively returned to their seats, and a house of between one hundred and sixty and one hundred and eighty members had been reconstituted, and was almost exclusively occupied in perpetuating itself in power, by virtue of the bill which, in 1640, had declared that this parliament could not be dissolved except by its own consent. Tired of fruitlessly demanding its dissolution, Cromwell, who wished to reign in his turn, had forcibly ejected the members on the 19th of April, 1653, entering, himself, into their place of assemblage at the head of his troops. Thus violated, but not dissolved, the *Rump* had remained, in its own opinion, the only legal parliament of England; and formed in the country a small faction of fanatical egotists, more important from their passionate activity than from their reputation or talents. Some distinguished men, however, were to be met with among their

ranks; Sir Harry Vane, for example, a man of vast but chimerical mind, who remained among them because he found elsewhere neither room nor instruments for his ideas and plans; and Ludlow, a clever man of business, rather than an enlightened politician, and too honest a man ever to resign himself to the belief that he had done anything against his conscience. But the true representatives of the party were Sir Arthur Haslerig, a rapacious, headstrong, and conceited agitator; Scott, almost as vain, and even more obstinate and blind; and some others, the dupes of their interest as much as of their faith, always ready to govern whenever they were permitted to do so, and uniting to fondness for power and fanaticism of opinions, the absurdity of impotence and the infatuation of pretended legitimacy.

It was to this assembly, only forty-two members of which were in London, that, on the 7th of May, 1659, the army resolved to intrust the government, which it did not know how else to dispose of. After Richard had been compelled to dissolve his parliament, the *Rump* was re-installed, and with it the good old cause, that is, the republic, of which the *Rump* was declared the only true support; "for," it was said, "it had been ever favoured in this work with the special presence of God, and with his signal blessing." Richard yielded to his fall without resistance, and without any one making an attempt to save him. Some time before, his friends had offered Monk 20,000*l.* a-year, if he would take up his cause. Monk allowed them to hope everything, but gave no pledge, and answered, "The said revenue will do Richard more good than my sticking to him."* When Richard fell, Monk received the news with his usual tranquillity; congratulated the new authorities, entertained the advances of Fleetwood and Lambert, and the assurances of favour from the

* Manuscript Journal of Sir Edward Montague, afterwards Lord Sandwich; Harris, Life of Charles II., p. 194, note. A year after this, upon the eve of the return of Charles II., Richard Cromwell again addressed himself to Monk, in the distress of his private life, begging him to obtain, from the royalist convention then about to meet, the payment of his debts. The letter which Richard wrote to Monk on this subject on the 18th of April, 1660, will be found among the documents inserted at the end of this volume. I am indebted for this curious and hitherto unpublished document to the kindness of my learned friend, Dr. Travers Twiss, who obligingly copied it for me from the original, contained among the archives of Admiral Popham's family, at Littlecott Castle.

Rump, which however would continue, as Cromwell had done, to deprive of their employments in the army of Scotland, those officers who were most devoted to their general. Monk remonstrated; and meanwhile, by the consent of the parliament itself, retained his officers in their commissions until the arrival of those who were to replace them, but who never arrived.

Matters were, however, rapidly proceeding towards a crisis: the time for decision was at hand, and the circumspection of Monk himself was near allowing itself to be taken by surprise. The greater number of the counties of England were preparing to support Sir George Booth, who, at the head of the Presbyterian party, had taken up arms in Cheshire on the 1st of August, 1659, apparently to obtain the election of a free parliament, or at least the restoration of the parliament in its integrity, by the re-admission of the members whom Cromwell had excluded. The royalists were not to appear at all; but the leaders of the two parties were acting in concert; and among the agents there were very few whose illusion was not the fruit of great complacency in allowing themselves to be deceived. The eyes of both parties were turned towards Monk, as the man they needed; around him different interests were in agitation, striving to shake his apparent immoveableness. Even in his private circle, either by chance or skill, the different parties had their representatives: Price, the general's chaplain, a royalist and Anglican at heart, his intermediary with the Scottish cavaliers, and who, though daily urging him to aid the good cause, took care never to utter the words *king* and *kingdom;* Gumble, another chaplain, of Presbyterian opinions, but a man of talent and intrigue, Monk's principal agent, and devoted to all his projects; and lastly, Monk's wife, an ardent Presbyterian, and as much attached to the king as she was opposed to episcopacy. Possessed of a liberty of speech of which it would have been difficult to deprive her, she forced her husband to listen to what others would not have dared to say to him, and by her impetuosity accelerated the rather tardy progression of his circumspect character. Others also, in their different degrees, attempted to learn his views, and act accordingly; some secretly, others more openly; and in the midst of them all, the general, calm, taciturn, and too good-tempered to be displeased at what he was determined not to understand, quieted

and contented each in particular, by some concession to the views of his interrogator, or by some half-confidence intended as much to conceal what he did not say, as to insinuate what he wished to have believed. Every one had his distinct part to play, and, on some given occasion, each might consider himself the nominal confidant; "that is," to use the language of Price, "him who had the post of first dupe to the general." Beyond this intimate circle, exposed to the efforts or curiosity of all those who sought to gain him over or to learn his views, Monk's taciturnity provided him with a rampart which he seldom allowed to be forced. But his very silence was significant, and he made use of it to maintain at once both reserve and confidence. As soon as an appearance of insinuation, or the utterance of a few preliminary ideas, announced the intention of introducing an overture, Monk, with an air of profound attention, gave scarcely any answers, offered still less opposition, opened no field for discussion, and no channel for indiscretion; after having exhausted the first attack, it was unavoidable to drop the subject; and each went away persuaded that he had either shaken his resolution, or found him in a favourable mood, but without having received the least encouragement to venture upon using more explicit language.

Meanwhile, in proportion as the decisive moment advanced, and circumstances became pressing, the object of these attacks also became more evident, and Monk found it necessary to contrive to repel without preventing them, or to inspire hopes without giving pledges. Persuaded that Sir George Booth's insurrection must decide everything, Charles Stuart and his partisans redoubled their efforts to insure its success. Sir Stephen Fox arrived, bearing a letter in which Charles besought Monk to march with his army against the parliament. Monk received it coldly, making no promises, and giving no answer; but he allowed the messenger full liberty to return. This was saying that he did not refuse to receive such messages. Colonel Atkins, deputed by the Presbyterians to urge him to support the insurrection which was about to break out in the north of England, pressed him as to what they might expect from him. "I shall send a force against them," bluntly replied the general; "by the duty of my place, I can do no less:" and Price, his chaplain, when interrogated in his turn by Atkins, seemed to think that there

was nothing to be done, "unless," he added, carelessly, "the city of London would rise, and shut up its gates."

At length a direct negociator arrived, charged with positive proposals. Sir John Greenville, nephew of Sir Richard, and one of the most active cavaliers in the king's service, had carefully kept up a close connexion with his relative, Nicholas Monk, brother to the general; and had presented him to a valuable living in his gift, in the county of Cornwall. Sir John had, moreover, induced the king to send him with more extensive powers to treat with Monk, and endeavour to make him join the royal cause. At the moment of Sir George Booth's insurrection, he sent off the clergyman to Dalkeith, charged with his instructions, and the promises of the king.

Nicholas Monk arrived at Dalkeith in the month of August, 1659, two days after the visit of Colonel Atkins, and found his brother disposed to listen to his proposals. Monk feared and expected little from those ephemeral governments which were already falling to pieces, one after the other, in London; the parties of Richard Cromwell, Haslerig, and Lambert, might agitate around him, without affecting him; he was more securely established than any of them. As for the Presbyterians, even supposing that they obtained the upper hand, they could never be so strong as that Monk would not always be sure of treating with them upon whatever terms he pleased. But this was not the case as regarded the royalists, towards whom the chances of the future were beginning to incline. All the other parties had tried their hand at government; and all, alternately powerful and overthrown, had exposed the secret of their errors, violence, and weakness. Royalty alone, for twenty years, had not been put to the test; it alone had yet to make promises which had not been already broken; good was expected from it, because it had not recently inflicted any evil; and finally, the nation returned to it, after so many years of agitation, as a son returns to the paternal roof, which he left in hope, but returns to in fatigue. The restoration of the Stuarts was then the hope and desire of that numerous but nameless class of the people, who, except in a few moments of excitement, generally long after political repose, that they may devote themselves uninterruptedly to the affairs of civil life. The desires of the multitude are rarely restrained by foresight; and if, when taking up the royal cause, the Presbyterians wished to

prevent its triumphing without conditions and guarantees, there was reason to expect that they would not succeed in thus measuring success at their will, and that, when they had opened the door to the king, the people, having only to choose between them and him, would not leave them time to settle the price of their victory.

Monk could not but believe that such would be the course of events, and rejoice at it. Caring little for the rights or necessities of liberty, but greatly injured by the inconveniences of anarchy, he never considered either the nature or the exact limits of power, whether he exercised or obeyed it. He believed that a country was quite happy enough when it was quiet, and under government; and he knew very well, as far as he was himself concerned, that the fortune of the servant depends upon the power of the master. He was in a position to become the most useful and best recompensed servant of Charles Stuart; and it therefore was to his advantage to treat singly and directly with the king, with the sole intention of properly establishing his own personal position, and leaving others to contend for the interests of the country. His foresight had always made him secretly favourable to the royalists; and as soon as they addressed themselves to him with any hope of success, they must have been promptly received. Monk never treated frankly with any but them; and during his progress towards the restoration of the monarchy, one single sentiment is conspicuous and predominant—the desire to withdraw that great event from every other influence than his own, in order that he might deliver it, complete and unshackled, into the hands of the prince from whom he was to receive its price.

But, in the state of affairs in 1659, the assistance of the Presbyterians was the most useful which the cunning general could call in to his aid; and consequently, while entertaining the communications of his brother, he appeared specially influenced by the Presbyterian standard of Booth's insurrection, and by the certainty of Fairfax's co-operation. When his resolution was once taken, he began to appear undecided to those by whom he was surrounded; while he was making promises on one side, he pointed out difficulties on the other, in his usual manner, without expressing his opinion on the manner of surmounting them. He confided to each that which he intended each to know or believe of his plans;

needed solicitation to undertake what he had resolved upon doing; examined the state of his exchequer; and finally, directed his agents to sound the feelings of his troops, and learn to what degree they might be irritated against a government imposed on them by the army in England. The soldiers were found less angry than uncertain about their position, and depending entirely upon their general. "Why will not old George do something?" they asked; "it is not in our power." But at the idea of putting themselves in motion under his orders, they grew animated, and manifested their readiness to follow him; "for," said they, "we may march safely behind George Monk."

Thus assured of his means, Monk thought that there was no more time to be lost. Sir George Booth, at the head of the county of Cheshire, was on the point of coming to an engagement with the parliamentary army, under the command of Lambert; the other counties were about to rise; and he must not be among the last. It was now Saturday evening;* the night was spent in drawing up a letter to the parliament, in which, with all due forms of respect, and even of praise, the army declared against the perpetuity of power which it seemed to arrogate to itself; not being able in conscience, as they said, to consent that so much blood had been shed, merely to place the sovereignty in the hands of a few men. They therefore demanded that, conformably with its promises, the parliament should complete itself, and regulate the mode of election and convocation of the parliaments destined to succeed it; and, in conclusion, announced their intention of maintaining their demand by arms. This letter was to be presented, on Monday, for the signature of the principal officers; and it was intended at the same time to take possession of the castle of Edinburgh and the citadel of Leith. All was ready on Sunday evening; at one o'clock in the morning, Monk, still in the room in which the oaths of secrecy had been taken, and the last conferences held, gives orders to his aide-de-camp, Smith, to get ready to take his

* We have ascertained, by comparing the days of the week and the dates of the events in the month of August, 1659, that this Saturday must have been Saturday, August 23rd. Sir George Booth was defeated by Lambert, on the 18th and 19th of August, at Winnington and Nantwich. This news would not be known at Dalkeith on the 23rd, but would reach that place by Monday the 25th of August.

orders to the commanders at Leith and the castle of Edinburgh, of whom he was sure; and then goes down to give audience to other agents already in motion on all sides. But a moment afterwards, he returns: "Smith," he says, "will not set out yet; Booth and Lambert are on the brink of an engagement; to-morrow is the post-day; we shall know how things stand, what is Booth's force, and how far we may hope to secure his success by our help. The delay of one day cannot do much harm. We will wait." These words fell like an icy shower in the midst of men already intoxicated with hope, and ready to enter upon action; but they must obey, they must even be silent. However, the general having again left the room, his chaplain, Price, the most ardent of all, followed him, to try and shake his resolution; he found him in conference with a Scotchman of Montrose's party, and did not thence augur ill for the success of the efforts he was about to make. Monk came to him; but scarcely had Price opened his mouth, when his patron, who never grew angry except when persons wished him to go faster than he intended, exclaimed in a passion, "Would you have me ruin all, then, and bring my neck to the block, for love of the king?" "Sir, I have never named the king to you, either now or at any other time," replied the chaplain, in a submissive tone. "Well, I know you have not; but I know you, and have understood your meaning." This was the general's first declaration to Price. At six o'clock the next morning, a courier brought the news of Sir George Booth's complete defeat. The conspirators shuddered at the danger they had run. "What would have become of us," Price one day asked of Monk, "if the tidings of Booth's defeat had arrived a day too late?" "I doubt not but I should have secured to myself the castle of Edinburgh and citadel of Leith," replied the general; "some officers and many soldiers would have followed me; and then I would have commissioned the whole Scottish nation to rise." Slow to involve himself in peril, he never entered upon any undertaking without having made up his mind to brave every risk.

No sooner had the news of Lambert's victory become known, than numbers flocked from all quarters to Dalkeith; and at dinner the general's table was crowded by officers, Independents, Anabaptists, and other sectaries, whose gaiety and imagination were excited by this triumph over their

principal enemies, the Presbyterians. The general joined freely in their mirth, and having more to conceal, spoke with greater openness. Some one having spoken of the project which the insurgents certainly entertained of restoring Charles Stuart, "My opinion is," said Monk, without looking at his chaplain, "that the parliament should make a law, that whoever should but mention the restoring of him, should presently be hanged." The discussion hereupon grew animated; and one Captain Poole declared that the nation would never enjoy peace and quietness so long as there was either a priest or a steeple left. At these words the old general rose, and in a tone to which they were not accustomed, said, "Fair and softly, Captain Poole; if you and your party once come to pluck there, I will pluck with you." A respectful silence immediately ensued, and whatever distrust might have been felt of the intentions of the general, all at least understood that he did not consider himself vanquished.

His position, however, might become dangerous. By whatever pretexts Nicholas Monk had taken care to explain his journey, it had excited suspicion; and the honest clergyman, assailed by questioners on all sides, had not been adroit enough to escape from their hands. Monk, informed of some indiscretions, reproached his brother with them, exacted from him a new oath that he would not communicate to any one, not even to Sir John Greenville, what had passed between them; adding, with unfeigned anger, that if a single word transpired by either one or the other, he would leave no means untried to ruin them both. Then, advising his brother never again to meddle with intrigue, so ill becoming his sacred profession, he appeared so disgusted with the whole affair, that Nicholas, on his return, assured Sir John Greenville that, for the present at least, it was useless to make any further attempt.

For a moment, in fact, Monk seemed to believe that the royal cause was irretrievably lost; and, either to free the parliament from all distrust, or to make known his intentions, or rather because, yielding to his natural bias in favour of the strongest party, he really wished to retire, he determined, in opposition to the advice of all his friends, to send in his resignation. And, on the 3rd of September, 1659, he wrote to the parliament that, feeling the approach of the infirmities of old age, he desired to be discharged from all his duties,

that he might quietly end his days at home. He took care not to send his letter by means of his brother-in-law, Clarges, a physician by profession, but recently appointed an army commissary, and almost always intrusted with the general's secret business in London—a trust of which he acquitted himself with boldness and address. Monk knew very well that Clarges would disapprove of his step, and was much afraid of his influence, which he exercised, according to all appearance, by the imperious agency of Mrs. Monk. But his own brother, Nicholas Monk, informed of the arrival of the letter, succeeded in getting possession of it, and gave it to Clarges, who in his turn carried it to Lenthall, who was still speaker of the parliament.

Two principal parties were at that time contending at Westminster; that of Lambert and the army, with which were connected those men who, like Vane, thought their situation was desperate, and did not fear to apply the most violent remedies; and that of the moderate men of all classes, and the blind apostles of the legitimacy of the *Rump*, who, seeing that they had most to fear from the army, directed all their efforts against it. Lenthall was one of this latter party, all whose hopes centred upon Monk, as the only champion who could be opposed to Lambert; and Clarges easily persuaded him to make no mention of Monk's resignation, for fear lest the party of the army should hasten to profit by it, and send out his successor. Lenthall and his friends, in fact, eluded all the questions of Vane, who, having got wind of Monk's letter, on several occasions demanded that it should be read; but, before ten days had elapsed, Clarges received orders from the general to withdraw it.

Whatever may have been the motives and means employed to bring Monk to this resolution, as soon as he had afresh incurred danger, he set to work that he might place himself in a position to face it. He applied himself to sounding, more closely than he had hitherto done, the dispositions of all the officers in his army, and opened a correspondence with Fairfax, from whom he had received overtures at the time of Sir George Booth's insurrection. Clarges was directed to assure the principal members of the parliament that they would have the support of the general of the Scottish army against the projects of the English army, whose insolence had not been long in manifesting itself. At the same time, trust-

worthy agents, unknown to one another, informed Monk of the state of London, and of the progress of the misunderstanding between the two parties. Anonymous letters, or letters signed with false names, were despatched to increase animosities or to thwart plans, by revealing to one party what it had been possible to learn of the intentions of the other. The quarrel grew warmer every day. "I see now that I shall have a better game to play than I had before," said Monk; "I know Lambert so well, that I am sure he will not let those people at Westminster sit till Christmas Day." In fact, on the 13th of October, 1659, the avenues of Westminster were occupied by troops; the *Rump* was compelled to abdicate its power; Lambert and his adherents constituted themselves a government, under the name of the Committee of Safety, and Fleetwood figured at their head. This news arrived at Dalkeith on the 17th; all was ready, and all was set in motion. After reading his despatches, Monk declared to those of his officers who were around him, his resolution to support the parliament—stopped all the letters to London—and immediately summoned to Dalkeith the officers of the garrisons of Edinburgh and Leith; and, having assured himself of their co-operation, marched the next day to Edinburgh at the head of his guards. Two regiments were quartered in the town; he cashiered those officers who he knew were opposed to his design, arrested those whom he most distrusted; and, having assembled the troops, declared to them, in a firm and animated tone, the reasons for his determination. "The army in England," said he, "has broken up the parliament. Incapable of rest, it is determined to invade all authority, and will not suffer the nation to arrive at a lasting settlement. Its insolent extravagance will presently rise so as to grasp at the command of the army in Scotland, which is neither subordinate nor inferior. For my own part, I think it the duty of my place to keep the military power in obedience to the civil. It is the duty of us all to defend the parliament, from which you receive your pay and commissions. I rely, therefore, on your obedience. If, however, any one of you dissents from this resolution, he shall have full liberty to quit the service, and receive his pass."

This speech was received with the liveliest acclamations by the soldiers, to which were added the cheers of the Scotch, rendered happy by the hope of liberty which the dissensions

of their masters afforded them. During the night, Captain Johnson set off, with a detachment of cavalry, to assist the commandant of Berwick, of whom Monk was sure, in getting rid of the officers of his garrison, who were all Anabaptists and Independents; they were arrested and superseded. At the very moment when Johnson had completed his operation, Colonel Cobbett entered Berwick for the purpose of securing the town in the name of the army of England and its leaders. Cobbett was arrested, and conducted to Edinburgh castle. The same step had been taken at Ayr and St. Johnstoun, but with less difficulty, because the dissidents there were fewer in number. Newcastle was lost; for Colonel Lilburne, who happened to be at York, had taken possession of it on behalf of the Committee of Safety. In the distant garrisons, the commandants of Monk's party were directed to perform the above operation immediately; those who were suspected received orders to proceed to Dalkeith, to confer with the general upon affairs of importance; and hardly had they left their fortresses before they were arrested by agents posted on their route, and forthwith conducted to prison in Edinburgh. At the same time, Monk wrote to Lenthall, the speaker of the parliament, to Fleetwood, and to Lambert, to announce the resolution taken by the army in Scotland to defend against violence the laws and liberties of England. Several of his officers had demanded that, before they drew their swords and were exposed to shed the blood of their brethren in England, an attempt should be made to reclaim them by at least some warning. Monk was not in a position to refuse such a demand; and besides, was not afraid of allowing time to pass, which he was sure of employing better than his adversaries. He had no desire or intention to come to an engagement with the English army; he had witnessed a civil war, and was aware of its chances; and no man ever was more careful than himself to avoid chances, until he perceived that the safest course was to encounter them. With the habits and profession of a soldier, he was a man of business, and loved peace. Among the predictions which had long ago marked him out as the restorer of the monarchy, he used to relate that of an old Earl of Nithsdale who had come to see him, to tell him that the king would be restored before many months had elapsed; that he, Monk, would be the principal instrument of this revolution, and that not even a finger

would be cut in the affair. "In that case," Monk added, gaily, "I am assured of my share in it." Besides, although he set little value on Lambert's military talents, he was not strong enough to engage him with an equal force. On the standard which he had just raised, he inscribed two principles, which he was careful to indite with great precision, that they might on all occasions furnish him with an answer:—"The government cannot stand without the entire subjection of the military to the civil power."—"The commonwealth must be administered by parliament." These were the two civil truths which he undertook to render triumphant by the aid of an army of which he had made himself master only by banishing from its ranks every man disposed to act in virtue of a political idea, and by reducing it to a purely military spirit and interest.

It was easy to foresee that such soldiers would agree better with other soldiers than with a parliament; and it was impossible to doubt that when in presence of Lambert's army, one-half, at least, of Monk's forces would go over to the side on which it would recognize its own cause. Monk had therefore resolved to keep them constantly at a distance from each other, and to let time do what it necessarily would effect. Well informed of what was passing among his enemies, he knew that Lambert's army, much more numerous than his own, but destitute alike of order and money, would soon be forced to disband. The parliament, when it saw that its fall was inevitable, had striven to deprive its oppressors of the power of profiting by it; and its last signs of life had been a prohibition to pay the taxes, the disorganization of the military authorities then in power, and the nomination of seven commissioners charged with the government of the army, among whom they had taken care to include Monk, the faithful friend of the parliament, according to the assurances of Scott, one of the most ardent members of the republican party, but the complete dupe of Chaplain Gumble, with whom he had long kept up a correspondence. Of these two votes, the first, very willingly adopted by the English people, compelled Lambert to obtain the means of subsistence for his troops by the use of violent measures, which no one was now in a position to employ; and the second gave an appearance of legality to the arbitrary power exercised by Monk in the disposal of military employments, which, in the part he had taken, it was important for

him to retain. As for the payment and maintenance of his army, although he had not for a long while received any money from England, Monk, by his provident economy, had supplied himself with ample resources. The state of his exchequer even permitted him to order the payment of the arrears due to the officers whom he cashiered. But as, before they had received their money, their discontent was imprudent enough to break out in words and plans to debauch the soldiers, it was considered both just and advantageous to dismiss them unpaid; and, banished from Scotland under penalty of death, they went to swell the troops, and add to the embarrassment of Lambert.

In spite of all this purging, and of the material means of which he could dispose, Monk felt that his military authority was no longer sufficient to lead an army whose views he had been obliged to consult. It had become a political party, and it was necessary to give it the movements and interests of one. All the officers were assembled in a great council presided over by the general, and in which the affairs of the cause were discussed. There Monk, patient and imperturbable, allowed free course to the pretensions of subaltern wit, to the coarse distrust of ignorance, and to the diffuse language of the soldier raised from the ranks, and anxious to gain further distinction. All was listened to, and disposed of by the adroitness of some confidant, whose logic easily confuted his unskilful antagonists. Monk spoke but little, except when it was necessary to give the authority of his assent to the opinion of which he approved; and, almost without making his influence felt, he governed the resolutions of an assembly destined to serve as his instrument. At the same time, intelligent non-commissioned officers, carefully instructed in the ideas which they were to disseminate or destroy, in the opinions they were to ascertain, and the sentiments they were to encourage, applied themselves to gain the confidence of the soldiers; and, actuated by promises of promotion, zealously seconded the designs of their general. A weekly gazette, and occasionally flying tracts, artfully drawn up, were diffused, read, and commented upon in the mess-rooms. On all sides began to be displayed that activity of mind, and importance of individual opinions, which, though alarming to unskilful authority, are powerful though inconvenient instruments in the hands of all who can wield them.

One regiment, abandoned by its officers, threatened to desert if not allowed to choose those who were to replace them: means were first found to limit the pretensions of the soldiers to the choice of their subaltern officers, and then to prevent their coming to an agreement, and oblige them to have recourse to the wisdom of their superiors. The whole of this interior and concealed government was carried on by a certain number of officers who were devoted to Monk, and allied to his plans. At the head of the intrigues and internal affairs of the party was Chaplain Gumble, ever active, persuasive, full of invention, and almost the only agent to be seen. "George Monk would not have stirred without that man," angrily remarked the agents of the opposite party. To these subterraneous intrigues were added public declarations: Monk's letters to Fleetwood, Lambert, and Lenthall, were printed and distributed at Edinburgh, as well as a declaration of the great council of officers to this effect: "That they had taken up arms to defend the freedom and privilege of parliaments, and to vindicate the rights and liberties of the people against all opposition whatever." The arrival of these letters in London had excited a deep feeling of joy in the public mind, and occasioned great surprise to those officers who were in possession of power. Imprudent and thoughtless, they had never once doubted but that the whole of the army in Scotland would acknowledge their government; and Colonel Cobbett, whom Monk had just arrested at Berwick, had been sent thither to ascertain the feelings of the troops, and if it were necessary, to secure the person of the general. It is even related, that on a certain post-day, one of Monk's guards, walking along the Edinburgh road, met the courier, who, instead of calling first at Dalkeith, according to his usual custom, was going direct to the town. Indignant at this want of respect, the soldier brought him, in spite of his resistance, to the general, who at once took possession of all the letters, and found among them an order for his own arrest, addressed by the Committee of Safety to an officer of his army, who was immediately to take the command in his place. But this circumstance, which will be found materially impossible, if we examine its various particulars, is moreover mentioned by neither of Monk's biographers, and appears to be one of those dramatic touches by which the human imagination delights to embellish great events.

Whatever may have been the intentions of Lambert and his party with regard to Monk, they had feared his rivalry, but not his patriotism, and they quickly perceived the discredit into which the cause he had embraced would throw their own. Besides they learned at the same time as his resolution the measures already taken to support it; and the officer charged with Monk's despatches had augmented their fears by betraying what he knew or suspected of his general's secrets. Undeceived as to the vain idea of their power over the army in Scotland, the leaders of the English army suddenly beheld the appearance of a force ready to attack them before they had dreamt of suspecting its existence. They resolved to attempt an accommodation, were it only to gain time for putting themselves in a position of defence; and whilst Lambert, appointed general of the troops in the North, was marching at their head towards Newcastle, Dr. Clarges, and Talbot, one of the colonels of Monk's army, who happened to be just then in London, were sent to explain what was called a misunderstanding, and to propose negociations.

Nothing could have been more favourable to Monk's plans. He had just failed in his attempts to draw over the army in Ireland to his side, and had reason to fear that it would declare against him. His efforts had not been more successful in the fleet; and Overton, the governor of Hull, as well as some other commandants of fortresses in England, whose republican opinions seemed likely to array them on the side of the parliament, had shown themselves mistrustful of Monk's intentions, and had given no other answer to his overtures than an offer to use their influence to effect his reconciliation with the Committee of Safety. Thus reduced to his own resources, Monk nevertheless did not contemplate further hesitation. When he was engaged in action a singular sagacity in discerning the true state of affairs preserved him from all uncertainty regarding his immediate conduct. Solely occupied in accomplishing that which was required by his actual situation, he took a complete view of it, and allowed nothing to escape him which might compromise the future. He was one of those practical men in whom reflection does not precede experience, but whom experience gradually enlightens, and whose mind, though inaccessible to every truth which does not come under their notice in a tangible form, yet recognizes and seizes it as soon as it assumes in their eyes a place in the

affairs and interests of this world. Incapable perhaps of forming a complete preconception of himself, Monk never failed himself in any emergency; his mind, rather penetrating than vast, and more firm than enterprising, could not embrace the entire scope of a great project while it was yet unprepared for execution; his placid character was little exposed to the temptations of rash enterprise; but boldness, when occasion required it, was as familiar to him as prudence; and when, after advancing step by step, he arrived at one of those dangerous passages where it became necessary that great resolution should suddenly surmount great obstacles, his quick and sure good sense proceeded straight towards the difficulty, of whatever magnitude it might be; and the boldest course became to him the simplest as soon as he perceived it was the most advantageous.

At this period his position compelled him at once to act and to temporize. He paid great attention to the envoys of the London Committee. Talbot effected no change in his plans, and Clarges only endeavoured to promote them. The officers, being consulted on the message, agreed to a proposition to appoint three commissioners to treat with their brethren of the army in England. The choice of these was left to the general, who nominated two, and allowed the officers to elect the third. They named Colonel Wilks, a not very trustworthy agent, and whose fidelity was perhaps the more shaken by his discontent at not having been chosen first. The negociators set out at the commencement of November, 1659, charged with the public instructions of the council, and the secret orders of the general. The principal point was to gain time, and not to conclude any arrangement, except at the last extremity, and then only upon condition of the restoration of the old parliament. If they could not obtain this, they were at least to require that a new parliament, freely elected, should be convoked forthwith. But as the committee of officers in London would necessarily prefer the convocation of a new parliament to the restoration of the one they had ejected, the commissioners were ordered to keep them in ignorance of their power to consent to it, until the time when a longer resistance might compromise the popularity of their mission. They were finally charged to ascertain what assistance might be expected from the opinion of the city of London, which had already declared in favour of Monk's plans, and to regulate their conduct accordingly.

Whilst Monk's envoys were proceeding to London, and Lambert was marching upon Newcastle, other negociations and other intrigues were following their course. Fleetwood, already alarmed at Lambert's ambition, was seeking to secure to himself some private resource on Monk's side, and sent to him, on his own account, Dean, one of the treasurers of the army. But at the same time he declared to the Common Council of the city that it was Monk's intention to restore the king by warlike means; and Dean, less anxious to gain the general than to alienate his army, openly made mention, even at Monk's table, of the royalist projects imputed to him; and strove by his speeches, and by widely-diffused tracts, to seduce or alarm the soldiers. One day, when passing in front of a company of infantry, "My lord Lambert," he said, "is coming upon you; and all Monk's army will not be enough for a breakfast for him." "Lambert must have a very good stomach this cold weather," replied a soldier, "if he can eat pikes and swallow bullets."

Lambert attempted, like Fleetwood, and by the same means, to make his own private arrangement. He tried to persuade Monk's commissioners, who were obliged to pass through his army, that he had power to treat with them; but as they insisted on repairing to London, unless Lambert would consent to restore the parliament, he allowed them to continue their journey, after having agreed with them upon a suspension of hostilities as long as the negociations lasted; and he intrusted the management of his private interests to Morgan, a major-general of Monk's army, whom he had found at York, where Morgan, detained by the effects of a violent attack of gout, and in the midst of Lambert's army, declared himself vehemently against the plans of his general. As soon as his health permitted, Morgan set out for Edinburgh, directed, as the rest had been, to try his influence over the general, but even more to employ his credit in the army against him. On the other hand, some congregations of Independents and other sectaries, moved by the declarations of Monk, and the care which he took to re-assure them, had thought it their duty to present him with their thanks; but others, more prudent or more suspicious, had distrusted the intentions of a man so little advanced in the ways of the Lord. Three ministers and two colonels arrived in their name at Edinburgh,—the men of peace to speak of an accommodation,—the colonels to tamper

with the soldiers, and lead them to desert to Lambert's army. At the same time Fairfax informed Monk that he and his adherents in the county of York, who had been ready to rise ever since Sir George Booth's insurrection, were willing to join their forces to his, if, instead of constituting himself the protector of a phantom parliament, he would declare himself for the re-admission of the members excluded by Cromwell and the army, or for the convocation of a new parliament. This latter proposition made peace far too easy to please Monk; and the other could not yet be even hinted to his troops without danger. The envoy from Fairfax was made to understand the necessity for further patience; the ministers and colonels were dismissed after some sharp words and many pacific demonstrations; and Morgan, as soon as he found himself beyond the reach of Lambert, became, in military affairs, the most important agent of the designs of Monk, whose entire confidence he possessed.

All this movement of intrigue and seduction was not, however, entirely without result. Some alarm as to the ulterior projects of the general began to be felt, both in and out of the army, by men who, either from interest or opinion, were strongly opposed to the return of the Stuarts; and also by those timid spirits who are frightened by every idea of change. In the same proportion the hopes of the royalist party increased. Monk's confidants were besieged by questions; and even Monk had to defend himself against the indiscreet precipitancy of the Cavaliers, the suspicious watchfulness of their enemies, and the imprudence of his household. "Mr. Monk," his wife used to say, "is a Presbyterian, and my son Kit (he was then six years of age) is for the Long parliament and the good old cause;" and in the midst of the insults to which the cause which he cherished was exposed in the general's house, Chaplain Price could not always restrain the outbursts of his royalist anger. "I can be undone by none," Monk said to him one day, "but you and my wife." Several of those who had at first served him with zeal were not slow to abandon him now. His cavalry, already far from numerous, deserted him almost entirely; but the infantry only manifested firmer attachment, and Monk, after this movement of desertion, thought he could rely upon what remained.

A month had elapsed in preparations when he judged that the time was come to enter upon the campaign, and sustain

his declarations by some unequivocal measure. During the early part of November he had assembled at Edinburgh the principal nobility of Scotland, and the deputies of the boroughs and counties, had announced to them that he intended to march into England for the defence of the laws and liberty, and had asked them to support his plans, first by maintaining tranquillity in Scotland whilst he was occupied elsewhere, and, secondly, by handing over to him the arrear of the taxes necessary for the payment of his troops. The Scotch, unprovided with weapons, could do little to preserve public order; but they promised the money, and kept their word. To settle the other interests which they might have to discuss, they requested Monk to give them a second conference, which he fixed for the 13th of December, at Berwick. Finally, on the 18th of November, 1659, he gave orders to march, set out himself on the same day, with his staff, in advance of his army, and proceeded to Haddington, on the road to Berwick.

His commissioners had arrived in London on the 12th of November. They immediately found themselves artfully surrounded and persecuted by the caresses and advances of the officers of the army, and quite unable to communicate with any one, to receive a visit or a message from their friends, and almost to confer amongst themselves. Around them everything breathed strength and confidence; from a distance nothing reached them but terror and discouragement. From hour to hour the most disastrous news accumulated; one body after another of Monk's army had deserted; soon their general would be left alone, and out of a position to treat; and they would find themselves defenceless in the hands of their enemies. They were at a loss what to do. Wilks, having been deceived or gained over, led the others astray; and on the evening of the 15th of November a treaty of nine articles was signed, agreeing to the convocation of a new parliament, the displacement of the officers of the two armies, and some other analogous measures; that is to say, the ruin of Monk, of his party, and of his projects. And in order to prevent any change of mind, or to hasten the effect of their victory, the government of London, without waiting for the departure of the commissioners, sent two officers to carry to Monk with all diligence the articles which had been signed, and to request their ratification.

Monk was leaving the dinner-table, on the 18th of November,

when the two officers arrived at Haddington and presented him with the treaty. He read it, gave it for perusal to those who were present, and, according to his usual custom, without saying a word, retired immediately to his own room.

The next day he returned to Edinburgh. The news of the treaty had preceded him thither. The first consternation had already given way to anger; and the irritation was increasing. The sixth article of the treaty especially roused all interests against this imprudent transaction. It prescribed the nomination of a committee of fourteen officers, half of whom were to be chosen from each army, and who were to meet at Newcastle to decide upon the claims of the officers whom Monk had deprived of their commissions, or who had resigned since the 7th of October. Thus all the promotions obtained in Monk's army, in consequence of the purging it had undergone, were called in question. At the same time they must renounce all hope of returning into their native country, whither their imagination had already transported them; and instead of the long-promised participation in those advantages which the English army alone had enjoyed for such a length of time, they would have to return to their exile in Scotland, with its poverty, and wild and cheerless garrisons.

The reception-room was full of officers, on all whose countenances agitation was plainly visible. Monk was walking up and down in their midst, sombre, pensive, and without addressing a word to any one. Around him were heard murmurs of discontent; and all eyes followed his movements. Chaplain Gumble enters the hall; the general goes towards him, and asks him, "How now? What say you to this agreement?" "Truly, sir, I have not seen it; but I hear so well of it, that I am come to make a little request to you this morning." "What is that, I wonder?" "Even that you would sign me a pass to go into Holland; yonder is a ship at Leith that is ready to set sail." "What! will you now leave me?" "I know not how you may shift for yourself by your greatness, but be confident that they will never be at rest till they have torn you from your command; and what they will do with you then it concerns you to consider: but for my part, though I am a poor man, I will never put myself into their power, for I know it will not be for my safety." "Will you lay the blame upon me?" cried the general. "If the army will stick to me, I will stick to them." At these words a shout of satisfaction burst

forth on all sides; protestations and transports of joy succeeded to silence and consternation; serenity was restored to the countenance of the general, and the preparations for departure were completed with cheerful activity.

During the first moments of their exasperation, Monk's officers demanded that the commissioners who had been sent to London should be disavowed as traitors; but it was judged more prudent to take advantage of the treaty they had concluded, for the purpose of prolonging the negociation. Answer was made to the Committee of Safety that, although they had no objection to offer against any of the articles, yet, as several important ones had been omitted, the ratification of the treaty was delayed until new conferences should have taken place. To these they demanded that two new commissioners should be admitted, who, with the former envoys, and an equal number of English commissioners, should meet at Alnwick, or in any other place beyond the power of either army, in order to settle definitively the conditions of peace. The envoys of the Committee of Safety returned to London on the 20th of November with this message; and Monk intrusted the further management of the affair to the confidential committee which conducted all his political correspondence, and upon which he devolved the task of maintaining this paper war, as well as of drawing up such proclamations, protests, and declarations of principles, as he wished to be able to set aside or disavow, according to circumstances. His own commissioners soon returned from London, and made what excuses they could. Wilks, whose reasons were not deemed satisfactory, was arrested, but afterwards released. The refusal to ratify the treaty redoubled the fears of that little knot of politicians in London, whom the officers of the English army had thought it prudent to associate with themselves in their strange government. Too clear-sighted to allow themselves to be deceived by artifices intended only to dupe soldiers, they perceived with anxiety that they were becoming entangled in a net the meshes of which it was still easy to break. Vainly had they insisted that, from the very first, setting aside all delay, and, if necessary, all hope of negociation, Lambert's army should hasten to seize the moment favourable for victory. The heedless faction which then held the reins of government at London having gained its power by violent measures, thought it could dispense with all foresight, banished every unpleasant reflection, and

slumbered in the security of its triumph, until the moment when it was destined to awake and find itself deceived and conquered.

Monk marched towards Berwick at the head of six good regiments of infantry and four of cavalry, the latter incompletely equipped and badly mounted; in all six or seven thousand men, well paid, well disciplined, inured to labour, to fatigue, and to the severity of the Scottish climate. Lambert had at Newcastle eight or ten thousand men, well-mounted and well-equipped, but without money, and without discipline, accustomed to ease, and unused to war; many of them were well-disposed towards the expelled parliament, and unfavourable to the cause they were about to defend; while others were attached to Fleetwood's party, and felt little zeal in promoting the success of Lambert. The news of Monk's refusal to ratify the treaty produced upon them so injurious an effect that Lambert felt it imperatively necessary to hasten the negotiations, if possible; and on his arrival at Berwick, on the 6th of December, Monk was met by Colonel Zanchey, who came, on the part of the general of the English army, to press the nomination of the two new commissioners, and to demand that the treaty should at once be adopted, without waiting until the new articles should be added. Referred to Monk's committee of correspondence, Zanchey received from them nothing but a positive refusal to depart from their original resolutions; and the banter of some of the officers gave him to understand that there remained to him few means of influencing persons who no longer feared him enough to take the trouble to deceive him. During the afternoon, intelligence arrived that Lambert's dragoons, urged by want of money, had made an incursion into Northumberland, in the hope of getting possession of a considerable sum belonging to Lord Grey of Wark, but which had been prudently removed some days before. At the news of this violation of the truce, Zanchey was arrested, which caused the gain of a few more days, before an answer was returned to Lambert. On the 8th of December, Monk marched forward, and established his head-quarters on the banks of the Tweed, at Coldstream, a wretched position, which seemed for a moment to startle the courage of the chaplains, but which was more favourable than any other locality for fording the Tweed, and whither, in case of alarm, Monk could

in four hours muster all his troops, who were stationed in the neighbouring villages.

The crisis was now at hand: at Coldstream must be decided the question of victory or retreat. Careful to secure some support upon which he could fall back, Monk had not forgotten the promise he had made to meet the Scotch on the 13th of December, at Berwick. He found there a portion of the chief of the royalist nobility, who, full of zeal and hope, had come to request a supply of arms, and to offer such levies of men as the exigency of the cause might require; and who proposed at the outset to place under Monk's command six thousand infantry, and fifteen hundred horse. However useful such support might appear, Monk thought it even more dangerous. Scarcely had he, by admitting several English officers to the conferences held with the Scotch, succeeded in appeasing the disdainful discontent which they manifested at beholding subjects, whom they claimed to govern by right of conquest, interfere in their affairs: and the army had displayed great indignation because some Scots had been introduced into it, in order to complete the ranks. It was necessary carefully to avoid all causes of distrust; the Scotch were supplied with arms; but Monk declined their assistance, promising to have recourse to it in case of need; while, to compensate for this refusal, he took pains to inspire them with confidence in a future, which it was not difficult for them to foresee.

From hour to hour, so to speak, it became more necessary to Lambert and the London government to obtain a prompt decision—which it was the constant policy of Monk and his committee to avoid. A few days more, and from all quarters Monk would receive assistance, or promises, which, against a disheartened enemy, are perhaps of even more value than assistance. London was in a ferment; the members of the Long parliament had taken fresh courage; the city, though not very favourable to their pretensions, nevertheless united with them in opposing the government of the army. Informed of this state of feeling, Monk wrote to the Common Council, that, at the very first moment, he had addressed letters to it, as well as to all the other great bodies of the state, but that they must certainly have been intercepted. He was lavish in his protestations of devotion; and exhorted

the citizens of London to use every effort to free themselves from their servitude.

Delighted at his promises, they displayed a strong inclination to follow his advice. The garrisons of London and its neighbourhood did not highly estimate the honours of fraternity with a power which could not pay them, and began to regret the abolition of the power of the parliament which alone had been able to vote and enforce the payment of the taxes. The fleet, upon receiving more correct information, declared in favour of the parliament. The same party had prevailed in the army in Ireland. Fairfax, with whom Monk maintained a very active correspondence, by means of the ministers who transmitted news to each other from parish to parish, promised to be ready, in the early part of January, to fall upon the rear of Lambert's army. Finally, Colonel Wetham, governor of Portsmouth, and an old connection of Monk's, had willingly listened to the persuasions of Haslerig, Morley, and Walton, who begged him to unite in the efforts which Monk was making in their favour. In concert with them, the garrison of Portsmouth had unanimously proclaimed the parliament: and the troops sent by Fleetwood to besiege the town, had arrived under its walls only to declare the same views.

On hearing this last piece of news, Monk hastened to write to Lambert to inform him of his readiness to resume the negociations; but as Haslerig and the other parliamentarians, then masters of Portsmouth, had been of the number of the commissioners whom the parliament, just before its fall, had appointed to the government of the army, Monk, as their colleague, thought that he could not treat without their concurrence, and requested Lambert to send him a pass, that he might despatch a messenger to Portsmouth to obtain their instructions.

Lambert could not fail to perceive that he had been tricked: he grew angry, refused the passport, and understood that a treaty was now out of the question. But it was no longer a time for action. Snow, several feet in depth, covered the forty miles of precipitous country which separated Lambert from Monk and the Tweed; and he was obliged to abandon all hope of getting at his enemy until that not far distant period when his army would have exhausted its last

resources. But Lambert was destined soon to have not even a cause to support. The feeble hands of Fleetwood had not been able to retain the reins of government in London; and on the 25th of December, 1659, the *Rump*, accepting the submissive excuses of the humbled general, entered for the last time into possession of Westminster. Its first care was to direct that both armies should return to their quarters; and to vote the army of Scotland, as a mark of its approbation, chains and medals of gold.

The same messenger who brought to Monk the intelligence of the change which had just taken place in London, informed him that Fairfax had taken arms, having been forced to declare himself sooner than he intended through fear of being discovered and prevented. Monk did not hesitate about what course to take. To go to the assistance of Fairfax, now in danger of being attacked and overwhelmed by Lambert—to hasten to forestall by marching onwards, the official order to retreat, which they were determined not to obey—such was the unanimous movement of the Scottish army, which, during the last few days, had been wonderfully reinforced by the friends whom the aspect of affairs brought to it from all quarters. On the 1st of January, 1660, during a sharp frost, it crossed the Tweed, and joyfully set foot upon the soil of England. At Wooler, his first halting-place, Monk received a letter from Speaker Lenthall, informing him, in cold and constrained terms, of the restoration of the parliament, adding scarcely any thanks for his services, and not even inviting him to come to London. However, the same messenger took to Lambert orders to disband his troops, but brought no such directions to Monk. This was sufficient to inform Monk, that to the distrust with which he was regarded there was already added as much fear as it was necessary that he should inspire, in order to remain master. On the morning of the next day, Lenthall's letter was read at the head of each regiment. The soldiers, buried up to their knees in the snow, but consoled for the fatigues which awaited them by the hope of arriving at length at a resting-place, unanimously exclaimed that they would go to London to see the parliament assembled.

The impulse was given, and no further obstacle presented itself to arrest it. Lambert, on hearing of the restoration and vote of the parliament, had withdrawn by flight from the

danger of being left at the mercy of those whom he had offended. His troops had submitted and dispersed. Monk remained alone, and his army, having now no choice to make, returned to its dependence upon him. From this time forth, there was an end of general councils of officers, political assemblies, votes, and remonstrances. The most intelligent were able to perceive that Lambert's army was not the only one vanquished by recent events, but to submit was unavoidable; and Monk, restored to possession of his liberty, which had been infringed upon by all those liberties with which he was not accustomed to treat, could henceforward singly, or with the concurrence of a few confidants, more or less in the dark regarding his ulterior intentions, pursue that active, covert, and silent policy which suited at once his taste and his situation.

He had also contrived to escape the danger and importunity of family indiscretions. When his wife, without asking his sanction, came to join him at Coldstream, the general, who had now abandoned home duties to enter upon the activity of public life and the authority of a commander, sent her back with a rather severe reprimand to Berwick, whence he afterwards had her conveyed by sea to England. As for chaplain Price, as soon as ever Monk had determined upon the course he was to take, he had informed him: "I shall not employ you in this business; and be not discontented with it, for you know not these people as well as I do, and cannot dissemble with them." Price was struck, as he informs us himself, with the general's frankness, and from that moment kept himself aloof, contented with maintaining a careful watch, and hastening by a few solicitations the accomplishment of the tacit promises upon which he thought he could already reckon.

Relieved of his fears respecting Fairfax, Monk slackened his march, leaving to time to dispel the obscurities of his new situation, but without losing an instant in turning against the parliament those methods of cunning and activity which had rid him of Lambert's army. Always occupied by the enterprise of the moment, after he had finished in one quarter, he directed all his strength to enable him to triumph in the other. Gumble, despatched to London to examine into the state of affairs, and learn something about the men with whom the general would have to deal, conveyed to the *Rump*

the most solemn promises of his devotedness; and laid before it, as a pledge of his fidelity, a letter in which the Common Council of the city requested Monk to aid them in obtaining the re-admission of the members who had been excluded from the Long parliament, or the convocation of a free and complete parliament. The same wish, expressed all along his route by a multitude of addresses and felicitations, was met by the most humble protestations of obedience to the civil authority. Declarations against Charles Stuart and his family were multiplied daily, and were the stronger and more explicit, because, upon this point, men's hopes and suspicions began to be manifested more undisguisedly. Monk publicly caned, and probably with real anger, an officer who had said, "This Monk will at last bring back Charles Stuart." His language was in conformity with his actions, and was accompanied by such appearances of military frankness and heartfelt emotion that Price felt it necessary to obtain some new assurance, and crept one night into the room of his master, whom he found, during a brief interval of toil, asleep in his clothes upon two chairs, with his head resting upon the edge of his bed. The chaplain, in the ardour of his zeal, awoke him to express his fears. Monk, always equable, and always ready, re-assured him in words which were the more positive because they entailed no consequences, and conjured him to think nothing of all those engagements which it was impossible for him to decline, "for," said he, "they are distrustful enough of me already;" and Price, tranquillized once more by this proof of the sincerity of his general's intentions, quietly resumed his character of a mere spectator.

Although careful not to belie for an instant the respectful language he had used, Monk continued to advance without orders, or rather in opposition to the orders which the *Rump* had not had the courage to make known to him. His arrival was everywhere hailed by the ringing of bells, and the joyful shouts of the multitude, as he marched forward, receiving the homage and requests of a population eager to gain hopes from him, cashiering the officers of the regiments which he met, and replacing them by men devoted to his service. When he reached York, however, he thought it proper to wait for some indication of the intentions of the parliament. The county of Yorkshire, where predominated the influence of Fairfax

(then resolved to restore the monarchy which he had formerly overthrown, almost without intending it,) offered Monk an advantageous position, which he was unwilling to abandon, until he was sure of London. Fairfax even urged him to remain at York, and declare at once for the king. His officers were surrounded; some began to settle the price of their adhesion to the royal cause, and carried it so high that one of them, it is said, refused to have anything to do with them unless they promised to make him Lord Chancellor. But Monk never advanced openly when he could proceed as effectually in secret; and the chances of war in Yorkshire were not so good as those of armed intrigue, such as he intended to carry on in London, as soon as he had established his head-quarters there. Resolved to try his best to reach the metropolis without striking a blow, he had even provided for the case in which he might have finally received at York formal orders to retreat: he would then have had means of forcing the parliament to reflect upon its imprudence, and he intended to obey so slowly as to leave it time for so doing.

But already the unfortunate *Rump*, re-established only to be driven from suspicion to suspicion, possessed merely a choice of dangers; and Monk's presence in London appeared less alarming than the junction of his forces with those of Fairfax in Yorkshire. On the 6th of January, 1660, a vote was passed, requesting Monk to come to London "as speedily as he could." On the 12th, in consequence of the letters presented by Gumble, another vote was carried, approving of all that Monk had done up to that time. Finally, on the 16th, a tardy vote of thanks bestowed upon him a perpetual annuity of one thousand pounds sterling; and the Speaker was directed to write to him, that the House, impressed with a sense of his great services, would endeavour to provide for the payment of his soldiers, and was glad to learn that, "according to the desire of the parliament, he purposed to come to London." It was also voted that two parliamentary commissioners should be sent to meet him, to do him honour. Scott and Robinson, two of the most hot-headed of that infatuated party which was hurrying to its ruin through its precautions to avert it, were proposed for this mission by the Presbyterians, to whom they had become troublesome in Westminster, and accepted by the Independents as trust-

worthy and faithful spies, well qualified to inform them of the proceedings of the enemy.

Monk arrived at York on the 11th of January, and left it on the 16th, on his way to London, taking with him only four thousand infantry and eighteen hundred horse—an army sufficient to overawe, without exciting suspicion. To give positive proof of the purity of his designs, he sent back Morgan with two regiments of cavalry into Scotland; thus strengthening his party there, and ensuring his retreat in case of misfortune. Another regiment was left at York, under the command of Colonel Fairfax, a nephew of Sir Thomas, and one of the officers of the Scottish army, who, from the first, had co-operated most usefully with his general's measures. Careful not to be burdensome to the county of York, Monk had dispersed his troops in distant quarters; so that, when he arrived at Nottingham on the 19th of January, he was obliged to remain there for two days, to collect together his forces. There he found Dr. Clarges, and Gumble had rejoined him on the previous evening. Both brought him news of the state of London. Monk was loudly summoned thither by a portion of the people, and by the leading men of the city. Among the lower classes, a considerable party still preferred Lambert and the Independents; but the parliament was regarded by all with aversion and contempt. The troops quartered in London and its neighbourhood were hardly able to restrain the popular outbreaks, which were always ready to burst forth against it. The last resource of that government which they had overthrown two months before, these troops became once more the hope of some who were disposed, if their courage had not failed them, to throw themselves again into the arms of Lambert, that they might escape falling into the power of Monk.

It was necessary to deprive them of this last refuge. Some of the members of Monk's political committee—either because they did not yet suspect intentions which they continued to serve, or because they were desirous to obtain some assurance of them—proposed to cut short all distrust, by making the army sign an engagement to obey all that the parliament should command, except the restoration of Charles Stuart. This proposition was set aside out of respect to the parliament, and in order not to fall into the error committed by the English army, in presuming to prescribe laws to it. The

principle of submission to the civil authority was of the more service upon this occasion, because there was no time to admit of discussion. Scott and Robinson were to arrive the next day, and all freedom of conference would then be at an end. It was, therefore, necessary to be contented with a letter. Monk, much less scrupulous about his own engagements than about those which his army was wished to make, allowed them to write in his name to his fellow-countrymen, the gentry of Devonshire, to destroy, by arguments and protestations, the hopes which they were beginning to base upon him for the return of the king. The committee also employed itself, in its last moments, in drawing up a letter to demand that the troops then quartered in London should be dismissed, and those of Monk allowed the honour of guarding the parliament. But it was considered prudent not to despatch this letter until the approach of the army should render its prayer more efficacious.

Scott and Robinson arrived, in fact, on the next day. Orders had been given, and the highest honours awaited their advent. Monk spared none of those demonstrations of humility which befitted the most obsequious servant of the parliament; and his officers, who had been carefully instructed, and perhaps felt a malicious pleasure in thus duping their temporary masters, made such an overwhelming display of their homage and respect, that the commissioners, and especially Scott, intoxicated by their importance, took the greatest pains to extol, in their reports, the general's affection for the parliament, and the respectful discipline of his army. They did not, however, feel secure enough to neglect any precautions of the most minute and even most ignoble inspection. Until the last halting-place, close by London, they arranged so as always to lodge in the same house as the general, and were careful to discover or to contrive secretly in the walls and partitions some opening through which they might observe what was going on in his room. Alarmed and mortified at that unanimous concurrence of prayers which, from the Scottish frontiers to London, had unceasingly pronounced against the everlasting domination of the *Rump*, they angrily repelled even the slightest attack; so angrily, indeed, that Scott one day declared that, if it were proposed to re-admit the excluded members, or to convoke a new parliament, he, old as he was, would take arms, and defend the

doors of the house by open force against the intruders. Thus losing by their ill-temper any advantage that might otherwise have accrued from their importunate assiduity, they freed Monk from the greatest inconvenience of their presence; and by their impetuosity in seizing every opportunity for making a speech, spared him the embarrassment he would have felt in giving a reply in their presence. Almost always confining himself to the part of a passive or docile spectator, the general seemed, by his silence, to approve, or rather to submit. A few words upon the obedience due to superiors, an inclination of the head, or a knitting of the brows, which each could interpret as he pleased, were ordinarily the only share which he took in the conversation. At the same time he was as anxious as he could be, without compromising himself, to modify, by the modest affability of his deportment, the harshness of the reception given by the commissioners; and, on their leaving the hall of audience, his confidants were careful not to let any petitioner depart discontented, or uncertain as to the intentions in which he had come to confide. Particular care was taken to calm the displeasure of the aldermen of London, who, on the faith of the letters which Monk had written to them, had come to meet him at Harborough, reckoning upon a more friendly reception. The tone of freedom and boldness which characterized their address displeased the commissioners of the *Rump* to such a degree, that Monk was compelled to appear cold when Scott and Robinson appeared irritated. The aldermen retired deeply offended, and the report of their misadventure seemed for a moment to discourage other petitioners; but all were soon given to understand that the presentation of their petitions possessed far more importance than the answers which were given to them.

Meanwhile, the Cavaliers, faithful to their system of prudence, forbore to swell the triumphal procession of the restorer of republican laws and liberty. Some even began to change their impatient hopes into suspicions: and their alarm suspended the progress of distrust in Monk's army. At St. Albans, the famous Independent preacher, Hugh Peters, came to congratulate Monk, in a long sermon upon the text, "He led them forth by the right way;" and tracing with his finger on the cushion before him the windings of the course pursued by the Israelites in the desert, he showed that

they wandered forty years to reach the land of Canaan, which was situated at only forty days journey from Egypt; but that, nevertheless, they were always led in "the Lord's way." The application was deemed ingenious; and several of the hearers smiled as they thought that the road might be longer and lead farther than Hugh Peters expected.

From St. Albans, Monk, without informing the commissioners, despatched to the parliament the letter which he had prepared at Nottingham, to request the dismissal of the regiments quartered in London and its neighbourhood, with the exception of those of Morley and Fagg, which had remained faithful to their duty towards the parliament. He feared, he said, to expose the discipline of his army to contact with troops which had so recently been in rebellion, and were always ready to revolt again. Whatever suspicions such a request might arouse in the men to whom it was addressed, the time for resistance was passed. In vain did some strive to obtain that only half of the old regiments should be dismissed, to make room for half of Monk's troops; the movement could no longer be arrested; and Haslerig, in order to baffle his personal enemies, who, he said, that they might cause a quarrel, had suggested to Monk to demand the removal of his regiment, lost no time in soliciting it himself. The order for departure was given; only, as a mark of regret, and to calm the discontent of the soldiers, a month's pay was voted them.

This was not enough to compensate for such an affront, and a very poor amends for the power which these troops had lately exercised, and the pleasures of a London life, to which they were accustomed. At the moment for quitting their quarters, two regiments of infantry mutinied, declaring that they would not consent to depart until they had been paid what was due to them. The cavalry seemed disposed to follow their example. At the same time, the apprentices took arms, and began to parade the city, loudly demanding a free parliament, in the hope that the discontented soldiers would join them in opposing the *Rump*. The news of this outbreak arrived at midnight at Barnet, whence Monk's troops had received orders to march towards the city on the following day. Scott, in alarm, left his house in his nightcap, dressing-gown, and slippers, to go and intreat the general to proceed to London forthwith. "I will answer for this night's dis-

turbance," Monk calmly replied, "and be early enough in the morning to prevent any mischief." Determined to prevent the two armies from coming to blows with each other, he felt little uneasiness about the harm which the soldiers and the parliament might mutually inflict. He soon learned that order had been completely restored. The officers of the mutinous regiments were for the most part new, and chosen by the parliament; and the soldiers, without leaders, had allowed themselves to be pacified by the hope of being paid at their first halting-place. They had marched off quietly, and a few squadrons of cavalry had easily dispersed the apprentices. On the next day, the 3rd of February, 1660, Monk entered London on horseback, at the head of his troops, accompanied by the commissioners of the *Rump*, his principal officers, and a rather numerous cavalcade of persons of more or less rank, who had come to meet him at different parts of his route. The bells rang as he passed; but the people appeared unenthusiastic, and the troops were astonished at meeting with so different a reception to that which they had everywhere received during their march. London had not yet recovered from the emotion of the previous evening: the hatred which was felt to the *Rump* disposed many minds in favour of those who had overthrown it, and against those who had restored it; and Monk's soldiers, emaciated and fatigued by their long and painful march, were a poor substitute, in the eyes of the people, for Cromwell's brilliant and daring army, which had so long held sway over the country. The procession marched towards the residence of the Speaker of the parliament. He had not yet returned from the House, but they met him soon afterwards in his carriage, with the mace, the emblem of his sovereignty. The general dismounted from his horse, and complimented him in a few words; after which he proceeded to Whitehall, where a lodging had been assigned him in the apartments of the Prince of Wales.

The next day, Monk, whom the parliament had appointed a member of the Council of State, which was charged with the executive power, was invited to assume his seat therein, and take the oath of abjuration of royalty. Seven members of the council had refused to take it. Monk said that he could not in conscience decide until he had heard the reasons of both parties, and desired that they might be discussed in a

conference; adding that his army felt great delicacy with regard to oaths, and that he could not bind himself by this one before he had informed it of his intention. The struggle was beginning again: it was now his object gradually to render his army hostile to that parliament which it had come to support. On the second day, Monk, summoned to Westminster to receive the thanks of the parliament, declined to sit down upon the arm-chair which had been placed for him at the bar, and standing up, with his arm resting merely upon the back of the chair, he gave the parliament, in the most modest terms, and with the most submissive tone, a series of counsels, which his position rendered very much like orders. He represented the inconvenience of multiplying oaths and engagements; insisted upon their removing from public employments all Cavaliers and fanatics—a name which the sectaries, whom Cromwell had made the instruments of his power, had never before heard openly applied to themselves. He related how, when assailed upon his journey by a multitude of petitions, expressing the wish to behold the termination of the session of parliament, he had replied that it was his duty to preserve the parliament from all violence; pacifying them, however, by the promise which the parliament had itself given of speedily putting an end to its power. He spoke of Scotland and of Ireland; neglected none of the points which he thought it necessary to settle without delay; and displeased many persons, who, however, did not dare to show that they were offended, so great need had they of holding fast to the last hope.

It was not yet time to disabuse them; and yet it was becoming difficult to deceive them any longer. Now placed upon the stage, and surrounded on all sides by impatient spectators, Monk could no longer make use of his favourite resource of silence. Exposed to suspicion if he did not openly declare his intentions, his taciturnity ceased to be a sufficient disguise, and falsehood became necessary. He adopted this new course of action with all the indifference of a soldier, who considers lying a mere stratagem of war. His pledges daily became more positive. He said to Ludlow, "We must live and die for and with a commonwealth;" and declared that, notwithstanding his respect for the parliament, he would never allow the re-admission of any one of the excluded members. He calmed the irritation of the turbu-

lent Haslerig, who was greatly incensed because the Speaker had treated Monk as a general, instead of calling him Commissioner Monk; dissipated the constantly reviving fears of Scott, and staggered the most resolute distrust by the solemnity of his protestations. Admiral Lawson, who felt little confidence in Monk's principles, said to Ludlow, as he left the house, "The Levite and the priest have passed by and would not help us; I hope we have now found the Samaritan who will save us." At the same time, Mrs. Monk, whom he directed to receive the wives of the members of parliament, overwhelmed them with the attentions of her talkative civility; and with a politeness which, in the eyes of the London ladies, savoured somewhat of vulgarity, she herself poured out wine for them, and went to fetch the sweetmeats which it was then the custom to offer to visitors.

These demonstrations did not, however, shake the confidence which the city had resolved to repose in Monk. His friends and confidants zealously laboured to maintain it. His officers, who were most of them natives of London, diffused among their families and acquaintances the most favourable ideas concerning the general who had restored them to their homes. The people felt a liking for his soldiers, who were modest, orderly, and peaceable, who paid with punctuality, and caused neither disturbance nor fear. The apprentices began to have strong suspicions of the attachment of the Scottish army to the parliament which it had restored. Cries of "A free parliament! Down with the *Rump!*" began to break out in all quarters, and were scarcely repressed, and almost authorized, by the acquiescence of the city magistrates. At length the common council, losing all patience, refused to levy a tax which the *Rump* had attempted to impose upon it; and voted, on the 8th of February, that no more should be collected until the nation was represented by a freely-elected parliament.

The Council of State hastily assembled to deliberate on the measures which they should take against such an act of rebellion. There were two parties in the council: the more moderate ventured to speak only of the danger of the enterprise; Scott opposed and pacified them: "Monk," said he, "has pronounced against the insolence of the city, and has declared that he will defend the parliament." Being invited

to attend the council, Monk found that they had already settled the matter, and that orders to compel the city to obedience were already signed and addressed to the seven commissioners who had been appointed to the government of the army. He had to choose one of three things—either to let the measure be executed by some one else and thus nullify himself; or to oppose it, and compromise himself; or to undertake it, and remain the master. Whether by instinct, or by predetermination, he joined the extreme party, exaggerated the necessity for rigorous measures, offered to do what was required, and answered for his success. At length, it was agreed that on the next day he should enter the city with his army, to demolish the gates and portcullises; to remove and break the chains which blocked up the entrance to the streets, as well as the posts to which they were fastened; to arrest eleven of the most resolute and influential members of the common council; and to quarter his troops in the city, until it should return to its obedience. He returned at two o'clock in the morning to his house, where his friends and domestics were waiting for him in the greatest anxiety. Some days before, they had been informed that Scott's son had confided to the man in whose house he lodged that a plan had been formed, and would soon be executed, for imprisoning Monk in the Tower, and instituting against him a criminal process, by means of which they would speedily get rid of him. His friends thought him lost, but when they saw him return, their grief quickly changed its object. In consternation at the order which Monk had received, and at his resolution to execute it, they vainly sought to dissuade him from his purpose; but he remained inflexible, retired to escape from their importunities, and was just going to bed, when those councillors of state who, like himself, had refused to take the oath of abjuration, arrived to endeavour to divert him from his resolution. Profiting by the lateness of the hour, he would hardly listen to them, and they were obliged to retire.

Monk could not hesitate. His own safety, which had been in danger ever since Sir George Booth's insurrection, was daily becoming more precarious. The disclosures made by Scott's son, even had they merely indicated the fleeting ideas of a moment of ill-humour and suspicion, warned him of the dangers by which he was surrounded; and if the parliament

plucked up courage to accuse him, he was not altogether sure that his army would disbelieve the accusation. But the service which he was about to render the *Rump* could not fail to remove, at least for some time, every pretext for distrust; and perhaps he thought it would be advantageous to take possession of the city in the name of the parliament, that he might afterwards dispose of it at his will. The next morning, on the 9th of February, 1660, without giving any explanation to any one, and before there existed in the city the slightest suspicion of what was contemplated, Monk entered it at the head of his troops, stationed his detachments at their different posts, and established himself in a tavern in the neighbourhood of Guildhall. Surprised at this military parade, the citizens fluctuated between alarm and confidence, and awaited with anxiety the termination of this strange scene. For a moment the report spread that Monk had declared for the king; but this error was not of long duration, and indignation soon succeeded to surprise. The army resented his conduct as much as the citizens. The superior officers, when Monk communicated to them the orders which they were to execute, exclaimed against an act of such ingratitude towards the city, refused to lend themselves to it, and tendered their resignation. The general, while listening to them, chewed his tobacco, and knit his brows; he saw that events were ripening, and learned how much he might risk. "What! will you not obey the parliament?" he asked them, in an abrupt tone, and with a gloomy look; and it was clear that his ill-temper was not directed against them. They withdrew; and Monk only pursued more vigorously those measures which could not fail soon to turn against his adversaries. Upon the refusal of the superior officers, the duty was entrusted to the subalterns. No sooner had the work commenced, than a kind of stupor seized the inhabitants of the city. Their ideas became confused; they did not know what to believe, and could understand nothing of what they saw. "Is this," they said, "that Monk that would bring in the king? This is a Scottish devil. To what shall we come?" In terror they beheld the men who were most beloved in the city arrested and conducted to the Tower. Surprise had banished all ideas of resistance; the people ran in alarm through the streets; and one might have fancied oneself in a a town just taken by storm. The parliamentary party

triumphed, and Haslerig exclaimed: "Now, George, we have thee for ever, body and soul!"

The principal men of the city, however, had not yet lost courage: uncertain as to what to think, they went to Monk, and endeavoured to treat with him on a footing of good-will. They offered him a dinner in the name of the city; he declined, and still retained a gloomy and severe countenance. From all quarters, the most notable citizens came to complain, some in a moderate tone, and others with vehemence, of the indignity of such an affront. Monk was astonished at the warmth of their resentment, and the menaces of their despair; then, towards the end of the day, tired of the part he was playing, or thinking he had done enough, or fearing that it might be dangerous to do more, he gave orders to suspend operations, although only the chains and posts had as yet been removed, and wrote to the parliament that he was in want of tools, as those which he had brought were worn out; but that he did not think it necessary to do any thing further, that the city appeared disposed to submit, and that a common council had been summoned for the next day, when he did not doubt that resolutions of obedience would be passed. From this moment, softening his manner, he received with his accustomed courtesy all the citizens who, during the evening, flocked around him, excusing himself to some by the urgency of the orders which had been given him, and letting others perceive that he entertained a deeper design; "in short," says Whitelocke, "hardly giving the same account to two men."

His language was of little importance; he was the most powerful; they were obliged to believe in him, in order to hope anything at all. Colonel Morley offered to place the Tower in his hands, and promised him the assistance of his own regiment and that of his brother-in-law, Colonel Fagg. The parliament had heard the report of the council of state upon what had passed in the morning. The moderate party were silent in consternation; the triumphant republicans had just voted Monk fifty pounds sterling for the expenses of his table, when they received the letter which he had written from the city. A feeling of violent displeasure seized the victorious party; the common council had been forbidden to meet; its dissolution was now directed; the order for the demolition of the gates and chains was renewed with greater strictness,

and Monk thought that obedience was still his safest course. The same operations were, therefore, recommenced on the morning of the next day; but under an altogether different aspect; the citizens began to resume confidence; the soldiers, now better informed and under little constraint, openly expressed their indignation at the part they were obliged to enact; each blow was accompanied by expressions of anger and insult against those who had given the orders; and the officers, picking up the fragments of the chains, said: "These are the medals and chains of gold that the parliament promised us at Coldstream."

Towards the evening, the troops evacuated the city, and Monk returned to Whitehall. Fresh reason for discontent was thereby excited against him in Westminster; he had received orders to remain in the city, and the parliament began to feel astonished at being so ill obeyed. The republican party was not yet undeceived as to its victory. Resolved to push it still further, it had caused a petition to be presented to the *Rump*, on that very morning, praying that none should be admitted to public employments who had not taken the oath of abjuration of royalty; and this petition had been favourably received. At the same time, Lambert's adherents began to raise their heads; Lambert himself was undisturbed in London, although he had received orders to depart. Monk's army became disturbed and excited; events seemed about to take their course independently of the hand which had directed them up to that point with so much circumspection. It was necessary to yield to them, in order to continue to direct them. On the evening of the 10th, a certain number of officers of his army came to Monk, and told him that, after having dishonoured them in the eyes of the nation, the parliament only sought an opportunity for sacrificing them to Lambert's army; and that it was time to break with a party which, by employing them in its service, had deprived them of all their old friends, without supplying them with new ones. Monk appeared to hesitate, or perhaps really did hesitate, to decide so quickly; at length, after some entreaty, he yielded; and, acting for the first time without the co-operation of the other commissioners, who, with himself, had been entrusted with the government of the army, he gave orders for his troops to march the next day towards the city, directed that his principal officers should be

summoned to Whitehall at an early hour, and during the night had a letter to the parliament prepared. The next day, the officers, whom he had convoked, signed it after him. This letter, perhaps the harshest ever received by that parliament which had already endured so many insults, began by stating the grievances of the army, amongst which the city affair figured in the first rank; and ended by declaring that it was indispensable that, before the following Friday, the parliament should have issued its writs for the election of the members destined to fill the vacant seats, and that it should fix the 6th of May as the day upon which it would finally retire, to give place to a freely-elected parliament. As soon as the letter had been dispatched, Monk placed himself at the head of his troops, and marched towards Finsbury Fields, from whence he sent to the lord-mayor, to request him to provide quarters for his soldiers. Surprised, and not very much pleased at this fresh visit, the lord-mayor, Sir Thomas Allen, evading a direct answer, sent to invite the general to dine with him, when they would confer about his request. Monk went to him immediately, and noticing the constrained behaviour of the lord-mayor, said, "How is this? your lordship does not receive me in the same manner as usually!" The lord-mayor alleged as his reason the occurrences of the preceding days. "My return," said Monk, "is for the very purpose of rectifying all our misunderstandings; will your lordship convoke a common council this afternoon in the Guildhall?" This was the very council which the parliament had dissolved. Nothing further was required to indicate his change of purpose. Besides, some friends had been informed of it, and the general's suite, which had entered London, had begun to diffuse new hopes. After a splendid dinner, which announced a day of rejoicing, Monk was preparing to accompany the lord-mayor to Guildhall—where the common council had hastened to assemble, and which was surrounded on every side by the people, impatient for the news they were about to learn—when the arrival of two parliamentary commissioners, Scott and Robinson, was announced.

Upon receiving Monk's letter, the parliament, informed of his march to the city, and of the movement which seemed to be preparing there, had judged that it was most urgent to induce him to withdraw from thence, if it were possible, and had sent to him Scott and Robinson, thinking they would be

agreeable to him, with orders to inform him that at the moment when his letter arrived, the parliament was engaged in considering the measures to be taken for the elections, and that they would settle that affair as soon as they had regulated certain others. The two deputies were to press Monk to return to Whitehall, where he would be able to satisfy himself more closely, and with his own eyes, of the good intentions of the parliament; whereas by remaining in the city, he exposed the fidelity of his soldiers to the influence of a disaffected populace. Scott and Robinson, who had with difficulty got through the crowd, which felt alarmed at their arrival, were furthermore obliged, in order to reach the general, to pass through the midst of a hundred of those officers who had lately appeared so respectful, but who now, rude and irritated, loaded them with reproaches of ingratitude and perfidy. Monk received them coldly, answered them by bitter complaints of the conduct of the parliament, and, when the commissioners desired to express to him the fears which were occasioned them by his sojourn in the city, "If the parliament," said he, "will do as I desire them in my letter, they have nothing to fear; all will go well." The deputies were in consternation; Scott himself, for the first time, acknowledged that no further reliance could be placed upon Monk's respect for the parliament. Both retired, and had great difficulty in escaping from the search of the apprentices, who examined every carriage, and covered with mud those in which they suspected the commissioners might be.

Monk, on his part, proceeded to Guildhall, and without appearing embarrassed at disavowing his previous conduct, spoke as follows: "The last time I was among you, it was for the most disagreeable matter I have been engaged in during my whole life; the execution of which was as contrary to my own inclinations as to the obligations I have to the city. But since what is done, is done, I can only be sorry for those affronts which have been put upon you against my will; and I have come to London, in order to render a fuller answer to your letters than I was able to do at Morpeth, where I received them. In compliance with your desires, I have this morning written to the parliament to issue out their writs. within seven days, for filling up the vacant seats; and to fix on the 6th of May next as the day on which to dissolve; and thereby to give place to a full and free parliament. In

the interim, I am resolved to quarter my army in the city, and to continue myself among you, till I see the contents of my letter, and the desires of the city and nation, accomplished."

At these words, the hall re-echoed with acclamations; and the people answered them from without. Already Monk's letter to the parliament had been printed, and distributed in the city; the bells began to ring; bonfires were lighted, and, in joy at the dissolution of the *Rump*, all the hind-quarters of animals which were to be found in the butchers' shops were thrown into them. Lodgings were assigned to the soldiers, who up to that time had remained under arms, and without taking any food. All their wants were forthwith supplied; wine and money was lavished upon them, and the whole night was passed in a disorderly freedom, which continually increasing, began soon to threaten the safety of the vanquished. It was in accordance with neither Monk's taste nor intentions to leave the field open to popular violence; and these dangerous outbreaks were repressed. Precautions taken at the post-offices prevented the transmission from London on the next day of any other accounts but those likely to favour the propagation of the movement; and over the whole face of England, on the arrival of the mails, the *Rump* was burnt by the youth of the towns, who, on this occasion, received but little blame from sensible people.

The 11th of February, 1660, was one of those decisive days which Providence marks as final, and which men on reaching boast of having brought about. "This was a trick you knew not of," said Monk laughingly to Price, when after his success the latter respectfully inquired what motive could have induced him to undertake the unworthy part which he had played for some hours. Monk himself had, probably, neither combined nor foreseen long beforehand the effect of that series of treacheries, which were continually ready, and so admirably adapted to the moment which rendered them useful; but he had learned daily, and with a singular mixture of artifice and good sense, of prudence and boldness, how to unravel and complete the movement which was destined to carry him forward to his object. He became, from that day forth, the sole power in England, for there no longer existed in the country any other force, but that of public opinion, which Monk had first taken as his ally. It still remained

to be seen what use he would make of his power. Careful to maintain uncertainty, he always reserved to himself liberty to decide, at the last moment, for one of the two parties to which he had supplied equal motives for hope and fear. For a long while the excluded members had been begging him to favour their re-admission into the parliament; he was engaged in secret negotiations with them, whilst he continued to protest loudly against their pretensions. He had at first been inclined to take some more direct way for arriving at his definitive object, which now, in his opinion at least, had ceased to be problematical, but public opinion proved to him the necessity for another circuit. The excluded members, for the most part, possessed of that importance which attaches to long participation in public affairs, influential in their counties, and restored to popularity by their disgrace, would have had it in their power to embarrass any man who attempted to pass them over. Their re-admission was moreover the only prompt means of modifying this parliament, which, though now quite prostrate, might rally, and inflict a dangerous blow in its dying moments. On the 11th of February, the moderate party in the House had tried to profit so far by the consternation of their adversaries as to obtain that, instead of renewing Monk's appointment as one of the seven commissioners of the army, they should name him general-in-chief. This proposition had awakened the energy of despair among the vanquished; they had voted that the number of the Commissioners should be reduced to five, that three of them should suffice to constitute a quorum, and some one having demanded that Monk must necessarily belong to this quorum, the motion had been rejected; so that the majority of this commission, who belonged to the party opposed to Monk, might, at any given moment, use against him the military authority with which they were invested. Arms taken from the government arsenals had been distributed amongst the numerous sectaries whom their common interests rallied against a Presbyterian parliament. Lambert's army began to move about in its quarters; and even Monk's troops, who, during the last few days, had again been called upon to deliberate and act according to their own opinions, seemed to assume a less submissive aspect. It was necessary, before the spirit of resistance had begun to appear, to hasten to deprive it of all support; and if the officers could not be induced to consent to the re-admission

of the excluded members into the parliament, they must at least be prevented from opposing it.

The head-quarters still remained in the city; vainly had Monk been urged to return to Whitehall, and resume his seat at the council of state; he had distinctly refused to do so until the oath of abjuration had been dispensed with; and as for his stay in the city, it was indispensable, he said, to allay disquietude, and restrain the discontent excited by the distribution of arms among the fanatics. There, receiving daily visits from such of the excluded members as happened to be in London,—Annesley, Pierrepont, Holles, Grimstone,—Monk admitted them to interviews in presence of several of his officers: and nearly all of them, surprised at the moderation and urbanity of those men whom they had ever before regarded as enemies, yielded to the ascendancy which is exercised by superior powers over coarse and unreflecting minds, seldom accustomed to distinguish their opinions from their impressions. At these conferences there were present some of the moderate members of the *Rump*, who were disposed, if they could venture to do it without endangering any vital point, to favour the re-admission of the excluded members. Monk, in his conversations with Haslerig, Ludlow, and their adherents, always declared such a measure impossible; but to free himself, as he said, from the importunities of Annesley and Pierrepont, he requested Scott and Haslerig to consent to a parley. The latter were no longer in a condition to refuse to negotiate. they repaired to Monk's lodging, where they found twelve of the excluded members and several officers. At Annesley's first words Haslerig grew angry, and would have left the room. Monk prevented him, saying, with a laugh, "Let Annesley alone; I know well how to moderate him." Haslerig resumed his seat; and Annesley continued without further interruption. Haslerig, unable to endure any more, at length went out; and, after his departure, the conference was brought to a peaceable conclusion. The great objection urged by the members of the *Rump* was the disorder which would be caused by revoking all the sales of property, and all the acts which had been passed in favour of liberty of conscience. The excluded members promised not to interfere with these interests, or to turn their attention to the past, but to labour only to establish the future well-being of the country upon more lawful and secure foundations. No disagreement took place,

yet no decision was arrived at; and, when the sitting was over, the officers, left alone with their general, declared that, in order to come to any determination, something more than mere conferences was required. Two or three, however, less headstrong than the others, demanded that the excluded members should bind themselves to pass a fresh vote in parliament for a republican government, and the confirmation of the sales of the public lands. In opposition to this, it was urged that the writs for the elections would necessarily be issued in the name of the "keepers of the liberties of the commonwealth of England;" and that the sales of land had been confirmed as much as it was possible for them to be. In order not to leave time for new objections to be raised, all the excluded members who were in London met together on the evening of the 20th of February, and made a definitive arrangement by promising, amongst other things, to vote, immediately after their readmission, that a tax should be levied sufficient to discharge the pay of the troops, including their arrears; to convoke a new parliament for the 20th of April following, and to appoint Monk commander-in-chief of the forces both by land and sea. On his part he promised to require nothing more from them during the continuance of their session; and they separated, leaving it to a future period, which seemed very near at hand, to unfold what it was not yet necessary to discuss.

Early the next morning Monk left the city, and transferred his head-quarters again to Whitehall, where he had directed the excluded members to meet him. On their arrival, there was read to them in his name a speech which, he said, he had committed to writing through fear of being misunderstood or deceived, as had recently been the case. Reasons against the restoration of the Stuarts and of episcopacy, and upon the necessity of their either withdrawing and preparing the way for new parliaments, or of convoking one for the 20th of April, constituted the principal topics of this speech, which, on the same day, was printed by Monk's orders, with the title of a *Declaration*, and afterwards sent by him to the parliament, in the form of a letter*. Thus fortified, Monk directed his guards to conduct the excluded members to Westminster,

* Lord Wharncliffe is of opinion that the speech published by Monk's orders was not the same as that which he had had read to the excluded members.

where several officers were at the door to receive them. Some of the peers wished to profit by this opportunity to resume possession of their house,* but the time had not yet arrived; the attempt had been foreseen, and Colonel Miller, in command of the guard on duty there, who had his orders, executed them like a soldier, in such a manner as to give great offence to those who had endeavoured to obtain admission.

The republicans, still blind and deceived, were completely ignorant of what was in preparation. On beholding the men, whom they had expelled so long before, return and take their seats in their old places, their uneasiness was equal to their anger. Several, and amongst others Haslerig, left the house, exclaiming that Monk was a traitor. Ludlow refused to enter it again; resolved not to sanction, as he said, the illegal readmission of one hundred and fifty-seven members who had been expelled by seventy others, legally elected, and constituting a number competent to vote. Some of the malcontents subsequently returned; others remained, for they began to take thought for the morrow on their own account. The parliament, thus completed, hastened to fulfil its promise, by appointing Monk general-in-chief of the troops in England, Scotland, and Ireland. The command of the fleet was given to Admiral Montague; and as if to assert its independence, the convocation of the new parliament was postponed to the 25th of April. It was voted that its chains and gates should be restored to the city; the liberation of those persons who had been imprisoned on account of the transactions of the 9th of February was ordered, and an inquiry was instituted into the causes of the arrest of Sir George Booth. On the same day Monk caused a letter to be drawn up, addressed to all the garrisons, that it might be sent off on the next morning, simultaneously with the news of the restoration of the excluded members, explaining the necessity which had compelled him to place the parliament in a condition to vote the taxes requisite for the payment of the troops, and concluding with the strictest injunctions to watch and publicly denounce all who should attempt to stir in favour of Charles Stuart.

* William, Earl of Strafford, son of the great Earl of Strafford, who was executed in 1641, appeared on this day as one of the most eager to resume possession of his seat in the House of Lords. He died, without issue, in 1695, and the title, won by his illustrious father, thus became extinct.

Everything, however, was in obedience to those beginnings of re-action which are followed up and favoured by a government ready to alter its course. A new Council of State had been appointed, composed principally of the members who had just been readmitted into the parliament. Lambert was arrested; Sir George Booth and his adherents were released, without submitting to the conditions which had at first been required of them; and the Bishop of Ely, after twenty years of imprisonment in the Tower, was permitted once more to behold the light of liberty. The militia was organized, and its command entrusted to men whose views could no longer be doubtful. Old officers were dismissed, and replaced by royalist gentlemen. Haslerig and several of his party went once more to see Monk, and remind him of his promises; upon which the general, taking off his glove, placed his hand in that of Haslerig, and said, in a solemn tone, "I protest to you that I will oppose with my utmost strength the setting up of Charles Stuart, and the government of a single person, or a house of peers." He added immediately, "What then have I done to give you disquiet in bringing these members into the house? If others cut off the king's head, and that justly, are not these the same that brought him to the scaffold?" Haslerig left him once more reassured. Ludlow, no less ardent, attempted to raise a conspiracy, trusting to the promise which Colonel Morley had made to give him possession of the Tower; but, fortunately for himself, he met with a thousand hindrances to the execution of his project. Overton was striving to induce Hull and some other English garrisons to revolt; but, being prevented in time, he gave up the town to Colonel Fairfax, who was appointed to supersede him. The Irish army had declared for a free and full parliament; and Scotland, where Morgan had received fresh reinforcements, was ready to obey at the slightest signal.

The republicans, reduced to Monk's fidelity as their last resource, neglected no means to restrain and secure him. A few days after the restoration of the excluded members, they had proposed to give in perpetuity, to Monk and his heirs, the royal domain of Hampton Court, which Oliver Cromwell had reserved to himself out of the property of the crown. The restored members had not dared to oppose this grant; but Monk himself, embarrassed by such a favour, declared that the house was too large for him. His friends, therefore, on

the third reading of the bill, proposed to substitute for the title of proprietor that of steward for life of the domains and manors of Hampton Court; and Monk, by accepting a gratuity of twenty thousand pounds sterling instead of the property, clearly showed the slight dependence which he placed upon the stability of the then existing government. The alarm was great among those persons whose fortune and existence were connected with it. The army especially observed with uneasiness that it was imperceptibly withdrawn from all participation in public affairs, and felt that whatever was done without it, might be done against it. Already had the officers complained of the plan for the reorganization of the militia, and particularly that this duty had been entrusted to men notoriously infected with royalism. Monk appeared surprised; and wishing, as he said, to have the thing explained to him, he demanded that a conference should be held between his officers and some members of the different parties in the parliament. Several were held, in which Haslerig supported the wishes of the army, and Monk the supremacy of the parliament. Finally, when the dispute had lasted a considerable time, they declared that it was time to have done with these parleys, which had become useless, as the result could not be brought before the parliament, now on the point of dissolution.

Men do not quietly consent to continue without any influence over the decision of their own fate. The republican party, considering its defeat inevitable, was desirous to take part in it, were it only in the hope of rendering its downfall more gentle. It felt less alarmed at a new protectorate than at the restoration of royalty. Those men especially who, either in the parliament or in the army, had contributed to the death of the king, would have esteemed themselves fortunate if they could at any price have got rid of his son. They resolved, therefore, to offer Monk the supreme power for himself; and the parliament having, on the 13th of March, 1660, effaced from its journals the pledge of fidelity to the republic in its actually existing form, without a king or house of lords, Scott, Haslerig, and some others, members of parliament, or officers of their party, approached Monk at Whitehall, whither he had come to attend the Council of State, and began by expressing to him the apprehensions excited in them by the proceedings of the parliament, and particularly by the vote of the preceding evening. "It is visible enough," said Haslerig,

"that they want to bring back the king." "If he were to come in again, general," said another, "you would be lost; you would have contributed too much to it to make it possible to reward you; you would be put out of the way, like Stanley, when he placed Henry VII. on the throne. It was but a frivolous pretext: but his real crime was an excess of merit." Monk showed little emotion at this. "I have not either," said he, "been much pleased with the late unnecessary vote. I have mentioned it to some of the most reasonable: and they have told me that since the case of finally modelling the form of government was referred to the parliament now about to meet, they would not encroach on its authority, nor encumber themselves with an engagement made beforehand. But there is nothing to be afraid of," he added; "the writs of election will fix the limits of discussion." His audience did not appear satisfied. "The people," they said, "are always bad judges of what is best for themselves; and therefore, since a single person is necessary, there cannot be one fitter than yourself for the office; and in this we have good grounds to believe all the good people of the nation will concur with us." Monk continued calm. "I have the example of Cromwell before me," he said; "and I have reasons to avoid the rock on which that family was split." It was urged in reply that Cromwell had usurped the sovereignty against the will of the army and of the respectable classes. "You, on the contrary," they said, "will have their unanimous consent, and under what name and title you please to accept it." "We will give you a hundred thousand signatures," cried Haselrig, with his usual impetuosity. Monk persevered in rejecting with indifference the offer of a fortune which was not solid enough to tempt him. His ambition was neither unbounded nor unreflecting, and he possessed no quality likely to make him disregard the precautions of good sense and the calculations of probability. The baffled negotiators left him, in order, without loss of time, to try other measures, and Monk repaired to the Council. It is said that his brother-in-law, Clarges, to whom the republican deputies had at first made some overtures, seeing them call afterwards upon Monk, and apparently presuming upon the intentions of the general, had immediately informed Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, who was then in the Council, of what was going forward. Eager to find their enemies in fault, the presbyterian members of the Council had

decided that, as soon as the conference was over, and the general had taken his seat, Clarges should be summoned to depose what he knew, and that Monk should be requested to give the necessary information to prevent such mischievous designs. Monk arrived, and thought that there was no reason for such agitation. "It is true," he said, "that some have been with me to be resolved in scruples concerning the past transactions of parliament, but they went away well satisfied." It was equally opposed to Monk's inclinations to destroy persons from whom he had nothing to fear, to break with those whom he still hoped to deceive, and to hasten by violence that which might be peaceably accomplished.

One more effort to thwart his views was, however, in preparation for him. When the conference broke up, the principal leaders among the officers had met together, and determined to compel the parliament, before its dissolution, to constitute the country a republic for evermore, in such a manner that no subsequent parliament could have any right to alter that form of government. A declaration was accordingly drawn up for the army to sign; and the meeting separated after having appointed a general council of officers for the next day.

Clarges was with Monk when they brought him the declaration for his signature at the head of the army. He saw that the general was disquieted, and proposed to adjourn its signature till the next day, at the general council of officers. Monk was present; and Colonel Okey, one of the king's judges, and more bold in action than able in discussion, spoke in the name of the malcontents, saying that the good old cause was lost, unless a remedy were applied, and that the surest remedy would be the proposed declaration. "If the parliament should refuse to subscribe it," he added, "we must take such other methods to save the nation as the Lord may inspire." Clarges, who followed him, asked his auditors what means they could use for imposing their will upon the parliament, which was strong in the concurrence of the people, who would not fail to assist it with all their strength in repelling the despotism of the army. "To succeed formerly," he said, "you found it necessary to impeach at different times, fourteen of its members, and to exclude two hundred; and now what will it do if you should resort to violence again? It will dissolve itself without issuing the writs of election, and will leave you without a government and without pay; unless, after having treated as

you have with Richard Cromwell, you should have recourse to his favour. There would be one resource remaining," added he, turning towards Monk, "that his Excellency should undertake the government, but he has refused."

"I had rather be torn to pieces by wild horses," said Monk, "than be so treacherous to the country's freedom."

Clarges resumed; a reply ensued; the debate was long and animated; and Monk, according to his custom, taking up the discussion when the embarrassment felt at answering questions began to leave the field open to authority, gravely admonished the officers of their duty, prohibited such assemblies for the future, remarked who were the boldest and most rebellious, that he might quickly get rid of them, and the next day wrote to the parliament.

The approaching dissolution was about to free him from several of those parties which he had to humour or to lead. None at this moment gave him more trouble than his own, or at least, that which he had temporarily adopted for the purpose of arriving at his definitive object. With satisfaction he beheld the Presbyterians daily advancing further and further along the road to royalty; but he would neither advance along with them, nor on any account allow them to get before him. The difficulty was to keep them back. Once restored to possession of their seats in parliament, the leaders of this party, consulting their own interest as well as that of the country, had thought that they ought to make use of this restoration to power in order to secure their share in the great event which was in preparation, and to establish finally, by the restoration of the king, the essential results of the revolution they had accomplished twenty years before. Prynne was the first to say, "If the king must come in, it is safest for those who made war against his father that he should come in by their votes;" and with this view, many seemed disposed still to defer the dissolution of the parliament. Monk, careful to prevent any fresh combination, actively employed for that purpose during three weeks the dexterity of Morrice, his surest and most useful confidant among the Presbyterians. Silence was imposed on Prynne; the severe republicanism of the general repressed all premature confidence; the most obstinate were reminded of their promise and of the necessity of a dissolution. At length they decided upon it on the 16th of March, and that

Long Parliament which, though convoked for the purpose of supporting liberty, had practised itself in the exercise of tyranny, found that, after having survived so many defeats, it did not possess sufficient strength to exist a few weeks longer, and complete its work. In vain did they, by a vote passed before their separation, prohibit the employment of any officer unless he declared in writing that he approved of the war waged by the Houses against the late king; in vain did they desire to exclude from the next parliament those who had taken arms against the one about to dissolve, together with their sons: the *Rump* was no longer in a condition to survive, and no one was deceived with regard to the nullity of its testamentary dispositions.

On the day of its last sitting, Monk, urged no doubt by his officers, wrote to the House to request it to revoke the act concerning the militia, the organization of which being entrusted, as he said, to suspected persons, might, in spite of the army, lead to the return of Charles Stuart. Some, disturbed and embarrassed by this message, apprehended a snare; but others had received secret instructions. Prynne went immediately to the printer to hasten the publication of the act, which, in fact, appeared the same evening; and a large number of gentlemen set out for their counties to realize the fears of the army.

Everything was rapidly advancing towards an appointed end. Royalist opinions, if they did not yet pretend to rule, at least were no longer concealed. The people, always bolder than their leaders, because they reflect less, and have much less to lose, cried out on all sides, "The king! the king!" Royalist songs echoed freely through the streets; and two days before the dissolution of the parliament, a painter, accompanied by some soldiers*, came to the Royal Exchange,

* This fact is related by Clarendon in a letter to Sir Henry Bennet, dated April 10, 1660, (Clarendon, *State Papers*, vol. iii., p. 725,) and confirmed by Pepys, in his *Journal*, from 1659 to 1669, (vol. i., p. 46, of the 8vo edition of 1828); but neither make any mention of soldiers having taken part in it, and Lord Wharncliffe, in his translation of this work, asks how I managed to introduce them into my narrative, and endeavours to explain the addition by a mistake. The presence of the soldiers is expressly mentioned in a letter addressed from London to M. de Brienne, on the 25th of March, 1660, which runs thus: "I will tell you an occurrence, which I saw with my own eyes; namely that, about seven o'clock in the evening, some soldiers, accompanied by other

and effaced the inscription placed there on the spot formerly occupied by the statue of Charles I.: *Exit tyrannus, regum ultimus, anno libertatis Angliæ restitutæ primo, annoque Domini*, 1648. No one asked the painter for his orders, and no one doubted that they came from the general. As for Monk, always the same, that is to say, constant in varying his language according to the person to whom he spoke, he gave no ground for forming a definite opinion regarding himself. The movement went on increasing, while the man who directed it did not seem to advance a single step, unless it were to recede the instant after. One of the king's agents in London, wrote on the 10th of March: "On Wednesday Monk declared himself to my friend that he would acquiesce in the judgment of the parliament both in relation to your Majesty and the House of Lords; and yet yesterday he told him, in great passion, he would spend the last drop of his blood, rather than the Stuarts should ever come into England; though I hear from other hands he was in good temper again the same night." His slightest expressions, carefully gathered up, and repeated from mouth to mouth, only served, by their variety, to maintain the prevailing uncertainty. It was known, however, that Mrs. Monk, in her impertinent gaiety, had asked Hugh Peters, who had grown rich upon confiscated property, if he were not for the restoration; and little Kit, her son, being tormented with questions and presents, had avowed that one morning, in bed, his father and mother had talked about the return of the king. The Republicans could deceive themselves no longer. Henry Martin, with whom Monk had been intimate, one day asked him what he finally intended to establish. "A commonwealth," said Monk; "I have always desired it, and desire it still." "I ought to

persons, came to the Exchange, with ladders, and then effaced what was written beneath the statue of the defunct king, to the effect that he, that is, his statue, had been cast out of that place, as a tyrant. This action took place very peaceably, and with great acclamations of the people there assembled, who were in great numbers, indeed, almost as many as if it had been at full Exchange; moreover bonfires were lighted in the midst of the said Exchange, where the shouts were of nothing but *Long live the King!* as I remained till the last moment to try and learn something worthy of being communicated to you." (*Archives des Affaires Etrangères de France;* Angleterre, reg. 58, No. 135.) This narrative of an eye-witness is moreover conformable to probability. If, as all who mention this fact seem to think, Monk was no stranger to it, there is reason to believe that he sent some soldiers to accompany the painter who was directed to efface the inscription.

believe your excellency," replied Martin; "but will you give me leave to tell you a story? A city tailor was met one evening in the country with implements of husbandry, and was asked what he was going to do with them. 'To take measure for a new suit,' he answered. 'What! with a spade and a pickaxe.' 'Yes, these are the measures used now-a-days.'"

However, that which alarmed some was not sufficient entirely to satisfy others. The cavaliers did not yet dare to approach Monk; one alone, Sir John Greenville, knew that he was accessible, and began to seek for means of communicating with him.

The very evening of the return of the excluded members to Westminster, Monk went to establish himself at St. James's, where, at a greater distance from the city and less exposed to observation, he expected to be able to conduct with more secresy the new affairs in which he foresaw he would soon have to engage. Sir John, in quality of a relation, often went to see him there, like many others; but he was always received in the midst of a crowd, and vainly prolonged his visits beyond their due limits, in order to contrive to be alone with the general. As soon, however, as the apartments began to empty, and Monk foresaw a *tête-à-tête*, he used to say, "It is late; good night, cousin;" or else, at other times, he was called away by business. Desperate at not being able to find a favourable moment, Sir John at length addressed himself to Morrice, one of the restored members, a friend and relation of the general, who lodged in his house, and who, since the affair had increased, had supplied the place of the political committee and of Chaplain Gumble, in its confidential direction. Greenville conjured him to obtain for him an interview with the general, to whom he had to communicate some matters of the highest importance. Monk sent him word to confide them to Morrice. Greenville absolutely refused to divulge them to any other than the general himself. and declared that, if he could not obtain an audience, he would speak to him the very next time he met him, no matter in what place. Monk gave him an interview on the next evening in Morrice's apartments. Greenville began by congratulating himself that he was at length able to place in the general's hands a deposit which had been for a long while in his own, and to fulfil the orders of the king his master

regarding him; at the same time he presented to him the letters written by the king at the time of Sir George Booth's insurrection. Monk, casting his eye over the papers, receded a few steps, and asked his cousin, in an angry tone, how it was that he had not feared the danger to which he exposed himself by undertaking such a mission to him. Greenville replied that he willingly ran the risk, as he had often done before, for the king's service. "But in this case, general," he added, "I am the more encouraged in regard that your Excellency cannot but remember the message you received in Scotland by your brother."

Disguise was no longer seasonable: Monk suddenly changed his tactics, and advancing with open arms towards his cousin, thanked him for having kept his secret so well, and assured him that there was no man in the world with whom he would have preferred to treat in this great matter. He then read the letter. "I cannot," wrote the king, "think you wish me ill, for you have no reason so to do; and the good I expect from you will bring so great a benefit to your country and to yourself, that I cannot think you will decline my interest." In the powers given to Greenville, Charles thus expressed himself: "I am confident that George Monk can have no malice in his heart against me, nor hath done anything against me which I cannot easily pardon; and it is in his power to do me so great service, that I cannot easily reward; but I will do all I can."

He then authorized Greenville to treat with Monk on the conditions which the general should ask, either for himself, or for his army, the command of which the king promised to continue to him. According to his secret instructions, however, Greenville was to confine himself to promising, in the king's name, a grant of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, to be distributed between Monk and his army, as the general should please. But since the 21st of July, 1659, when these letters were dated, times and situations had greatly changed; and Greenville did not think he exceeded his powers by offering to Monk, with the title of Lord High Constable, the choice of any of the great offices of the crown. Too well assured of his market to spoil it by making his bargains too soon, Monk refused every condition for himself; and, lying even when he was treating sincerely, he disavowed, in terms of the most humble and submissive loyalty, all that part of

his past conduct which had been in opposition to the fidelity which, he said, he had always preserved in his heart. "I have never," added he, "been in a condition to serve the king till the present time; I am now not only ready to obey his commands, but to sacrifice my life and fortune in his service." And then calling Morrice, "This honest man," he said, "shall witness my promise." Everything was speedily arranged between them. Monk was disposed to trust, at least as much for his country as for himself, to the gracious intentions of his Majesty; but in order to remove every obstacle to his return, he required, first, a general amnesty, except for those whom the parliament should think it proper to exclude; secondly, a promise to consent to every act judged necessary to confirm the sales of lands, and secure the payment of the arrears of the army; thirdly and lastly, liberty of conscience, as far as it should be compatible with the tranquillity of the civil government. Moreover, he entreated the king at once to leave the Spanish territories, from whence, when he was once acknowleged as king of England, he would probably find it difficult to escape without some troublesome condition. Monk, not wishing yet to venture a letter to the king, requested Sir John to be himself the bearer of his answer, read his instructions to him several times, and then burnt the paper, exacting a promise that he would not re-write it, but confide the secret of his mission to the king alone, without any intermediary. This precaution, it is said, had particular reference to the Chancellor Hyde, the object of Monk's special antipathy, which he amply returned.

Greenville made his passage in the same vessel with Lord Mordaunt, who was going to Brussels on his own account, and who had not the slightest suspicion of the mission of his travelling companion. Every one at that moment sought to treat on his own account, and to secure his own share of profit in the sequel. There was not a single interest, or shade of opinion which had not its agent at Brussels or near Monk, and ordinarily in both quarters at once; all seeking to outstrip and deceive each other; and entertaining mutual distrust without being able to divine the views of their opponents. Among the most important, Hollis and the other presbyterian leaders, on some occasions, flattered themselves that they were directing the course of events. Their intentions were sincere and patriotic, but their obstinacy had derived no light

from experience. After so many reverses which they had not been able to avoid, and after so long impotency, they thought they were restored by events, which had taken their course independently of them, to the same point which they had occupied before their fall; and did not perceive that the power just restored to them was but one of the first steps in the reaction which raised them up for a moment, in order subsequently to proceed much farther. In possession of the government, which was then entirely vested in the Council of State, these former leaders of the Long Parliament, considered themselves still the masters of the country, of whose opinions they were ignorant, and whose army was against them, and they prepared to contest with the king the conditions which they desired to impose upon his restoration. These were rigorous; his father had accepted them only when reduced to the last extremity, when the moment for obtaining them had already elapsed. What appeared to them their greatest difficulty was to gain Monk, who daily grew more strict in his presbyterian republicanism. It only remained for him to deceive these men, and to this task he diligently applied himself. They approached him with caution, and were at first repulsed by his unshakeable attachment to the republic. Their arguments, however, were powerful; the men by whom he was addressed were worthy of consideration; he appeared to allow himself to be convinced; then he suddenly hesitated, and seemed to fear to meddle with a difficult negociation, which it would be better to leave to the parliament. The Presbyterians attached only the more value to the victory which Monk seemed to grant them with regret; and a messenger was hastily despatched on their part to inform Charles II. that they had at length induced the general to recognize him upon the same conditions as had been proposed to his father in the Isle of Wight, but upon those conditions alone. They conjured his majesty not to reject this means, perhaps the only one, of regaining his crown. Sir John Greenville had just arrived, and had seen the king, when the presbyterian envoy brought these propositions. Charles and his advisers, whom, notwithstanding Monk's repugnance, it had been found necessary to inform of the general's offers, experienced a moment's uneasiness; but, being quickly reassured by Sir John, the king smiled at the tardy service which Monk's messenger had just taught him

to despise, and refused to enter into negociations with the Presbyterian leaders.

All were anxious, at this last moment, to regain the time they had lost, and were alarmed at seeing events hasten onwards before they had taken their position in them. The French ambassador, M. de Bourdeaux, entreated Clarges, with whom he had some acquaintance, to procure him an interview with the general. Clarges called upon him, and the ambassador, having taken him alone into his study, commenced, with his Gascon vivacity, a conversation, the burden of which Clarges willingly allowed him to bear. "The general," said Bourdeaux, "has some great design; everybody can see that this is the case. Without any doubt, he wishes either to make himself king, or to bring the king back. Well! in either of these cases, no one can render him greater service than myself. An Englishman would compromise his safety, but I run no risk. But what I propose is not merely in reference to myself, but to the cardinal. He will be delighted to have the honour of his Excellency's friendship, and is ready to assist him in all his plans." Then resuming his own discourse, he added, "I would not say which would be best for the general, whether to establish the sovereignty of his own family, or to bring back the king. Both would raise him to great honour, and the latter would not be less glorious because it is more easy. But in every case, he may reckon upon the cardinal; for you should know, the cardinal was the close ally of Oliver Cromwell. Cromwell did not seize upon the sovereignty without his concurrence, and it was the cardinal who directed him, step by step, in all that business." And continuing to offer his services, he assured Clarges that, if it were the general's intention to restore the king, the best thing he could do would be to advise Charles to pass over into France, and place the whole negociation in the cardinal's hands, in which case there was nothing that Monk might not expect from the court of France.

Clarges received these overtures coldly, and, anxious to relieve himself from a useless and dangerous confidence, declared himself much too insignificant a person to enter into such great affairs, and contented himself with assuring the ambassador that his brother-in-law had no such ambition for himself, and was even determined to submit to the decision of parliament. "Your parliaments," said Bourdeaux, "are such

tumultuary and changeable assemblies, that no reliance can be placed upon them. If the general does not do what I advise, they may hurry him into some measure which will ruin both himself and his family." Clarges withdrew, promising the ambassador that he would sound his brother-in-law in order to ascertain how far such a proposition could be opened to him, and would inform Bourdeaux thereof, that he might treat in his own person, knowing, as he said, enough English to make himself understood by the general, who did not know a word of French.

Monk would listen to nothing of the kind; but, so as not to offend the ambassador, he consented to receive from him a simple visit which, on Bourdeaux's part, was confined to general offers of service, and ended in nothing more.*

Charles, by the advice of Monk, had immediately left Brussels, and taken up his residence at Breda, from whence Greenville soon after set out again, bearing letters and declarations from the king, addressed to the new parliament, the army, and the city; others were for Monk, of which one in particular was written with Charles's own hand; a commission of generalissimo of all the forces by sea and land in the three kingdoms; and finally, a blank appointment of a secretary of state, which Monk destined for Morrice. But for the moment, keeping only the king's letter, and true to his habits of precaution, Monk would not take possession of the other papers, which Greenville locked up, until the day arrived for using them, in a secret receptacle which had long been appropriated to such purposes.

The month of April was approaching, and with it the elec-

* This is the account which Clarges himself gives of his and Monk's relations with the French ambassador, in the *Continuation of Baker's Chronicle*, of which he is the author. This account is completed and almost entirely confirmed by the documents published at the end of this volume, which contain the whole of that part of M. de Bourdeaux's correspondence with Cardinal Mazarin and M. de Brienne, which has reference to the progressive conduct of Monk, both in Scotland and England, from the death of Cromwell to the restoration of Charles II. The publication of these documents relieves me from the necessity of again refuting the anecdote related by Locke, on the authority of his friend Ashley Cooper, the celebrated Earl of Shaftesbury, who boasted of having baffled Monk in his design for assuming the sovereignty of England, with the aid of Cardinal Mazarin. It will there be seen with what good reason Hume, Hallam, and Lord Wharncliffe, have refused credence to this anecdote.

tions. No doubt was felt as to the majority which they would indicate; and Monk, who refused no request, having written to the municipal officers of Bridgnorth to recommend to the choice of the electors Thurloe, Cromwell's secretary, they replied, that they had not ventured to make use of his letter, and added, "We jointly conclude that the general's writing would be so far from speeding your election, that his standing would not have carried his own at Bridgnorth, except he would have declared himself absolutely for the king, and without any such terms as they hear are about to be offered to him." The militia was organized everywhere in the same spirit. The army, discontented but subdued, offered no further resistance, although it was still held in dread. Severe penalties were enacted against any who should endeavour to excite disturbance or alarm among the soldiers or officers, and ten pounds reward was promised to any who should give information of such an attempt. The officers were induced to sign an address to the general, in which they promised, for themselves and their soldiers, to render implicit obedience to the orders of his Excellency, of the Council of State, or of the parliament about to assemble; and to abstain from all meetings and remonstrances. Those who refused were cashiered, and replaced by royalist gentlemen or nobles.

All seemed ready, and they waited for nothing more than the arrival of the 25th of April, 1660, the day on which the new parliament was to open, when it was ascertained that Lambert had escaped from the Tower. He was missed for a short time in London, where he concealed himself at first; but they soon learned that he had arrived in the county of Warwick, where he had previously appointed some of his friends to meet him, and was beginning to draw around him the troops of the neighbourhood. The disaffection appeared general; to make sure of the soldiers, an attempt was made to oblige them to sign the address of the officers, but they deserted in troops. The army in London alone remained entire, or at least had lost only two soldiers; but it would not have been safe to trust to it; and Monk was careful to be dissuaded from the resolution which he had announced of marching in person against Lambert. He sent Ingoldsby in pursuit of him, and remained in London, where the crisis required other cares of him. Resuming, in this moment of danger, the decision which was natural to him whenever it

became necessary, he sent for Sir John Greenville, and said to him, "If Ingoldsby is beaten, and the army revolts to Lambert, I shall declare for the king, publish my commission, and raise all the royalists to arms in England, Scotland, and Ireland; be in readiness to receive orders." It was at this time also that he wrote to the king to thank him, and to engage himself formally in his service. His letter was forthwith conveyed to Breda, by Bernard Greenville, Sir John's nephew.

On Easter eve, the 21st of April, 1660,* four days after Lambert's escape, Ingoldsby was at Northampton, with whatever faithful troops he could muster, the county militia, and a hundred royalist gentlemen, under the command of the Earl of Exeter. The next day they marched on Daventry, where they had learned that Lambert was, surrounded by people who had hastily gathered round him; a disorderly troop, who were still undecided as to the course they were to take. Whilst Lambert was retreating, and Ingoldsby hastening to come up with him, some scouts met Captain Haslerig, son of Sir Arthur, who, either discontented with Lambert, or despairing of the success of his undertaking, had just quitted him, but alone, and leaving his company with Lambert. He was taken prisoner, but afterwards released upon promising to make his company desert. At length they overtook Lambert, posted behind a small brook, which separated the two armies. He had only seven ill-formed squadrons of cavalry, and a very small body of infantry. Some of his men advanced, but singly, and without any intention of making an attack. Ingoldsby forbade his men to quit their ranks, and mingling with those of Lambert in the garb of a simple horse-soldier, and without being recognized by any of them, he spoke to them of the danger to which they were exposing themselves. Twenty-five of Lambert's cavalry, with a quartermaster at their head, passed over to Ingoldsby's side, but refused to take part with him: they were deprived for the moment of their horses and arms, which were afterwards returned to them. This sort of parley lasted for nearly four hours; neither were desirous to begin the action. At length, Ingoldsby gave the order to charge; his infantry fired, and wounded two of Lambert's men. The latter advanced at a quick march, ordering his men not to fire until they were close upon the enemy; but when they arrived

* According to the old style, still in use in England at that period.

within pistol shot, they halted and lowered their arms. The company of Haslerig's son passed over to the other side under the command of a quartermaster, whom, out of shame, he had directed to execute the promised treason in his stead; another company followed his example. In that moment of irresolution which precedes flight. Ingoldsby rode up to Lambert and said, "You are my prisoner." Lambert asked to treat, but was refused; he then solicited at least liberty to escape. "Do what you like with us, but let him go," said Axtell, Okey, and the other officers who still surrounded him; "What will it serve you to destroy him?" Refused again, Lambert put his horse to a gallop to escape; but Ingoldsby, dashing off in pursuit, soon was close upon him, pistol in hand, calling on him to surrender, or he was a dead man. Lambert had too often failed of success, and no hope now sustained him: his courage abandoned him; he stopped, vainly demanded his liberty, then surrendered, and was brought back to the Tower, in less than a week after he had quitted it.

About this time, several officers came to propose to Monk to accomplish themselves what he was about to effect without them. They engaged to make the army declare for the king, and thus to render their part more honourable and their condition better. Monk no longer had need of them, and did not wish to make use of them; so he replied by his usual declarations of submission to the decision of the parliament. At length, on the 25th of April, the parliament met*; the House of Lords also assembled, composed of those of its former members who had sat until the trial of Charles I. Monk received from both houses the title of captain-general of the land forces, and also solemn thanks, to which he replied by recommending them to attend less to the past than to the future. The 1st of May was the day fixed for deliberating upon the government which it was best to give to the three nations; and, in the interval, Greenville presented himself at the door of the Council of State, demanding to speak with General Monk. Monk, informed of this by Colonel Birch, one of the members of the council, went to the door, where Greenville gave into his hands the official letter, which had been addressed to him by the king, to be by him communicated to the Council of State and the officers of the army.

* Monk took his seat as member for Devonshire.

Monk scarcely looked at Greenville, cast his eyes upon the seal of the letter, feigned surprise, and returned to the council, commanding Greenville, in a severe tone, to wait, and ordering his guards to watch that he did not escape. The council, more surprised than Monk had been, had an animated debate about the course they should take in reference to this letter. Birch, in alarm, protested that he had informed the general without suspecting anything of the kind. Greenville, on being introduced and questioned as to the origin of this letter, replied that he had received it at Breda, from the king his master. They were about to commit him to prison, but Monk answered for his safe-keeping, and it was decided that the letter should not be opened until the meeting of parliament.

At length, on the 1st of May, 1660, this long-continued farce, which had ceased to deceive any one, came to an end. Greenville appeared successively before both houses, as bearer of the king's letters and of the declaration of Breda, drawn up on the basis which Monk had indicated in his instructions to Sir John. The king, immediately acknowledged with eagerness in both houses, was proclaimed at London on the 8th of May, in the midst of shouts, bonfires, and all that uproar of victory which, for a moment, scarcely permits us to suspect the existence of a vanquished and discontented party. But already Monk, anxious to get rid of the burden with which he felt himself laden, had despatched Sir John Greenville back to Breda. By his exertions, the sum of fifty thousand pounds sterling, which had been voted to the king for the expenses of his journey home, and borrowed of the city, was furnished within two days; ten thousand in gold, and the rest in bills of exchange on Amsterdam, payable at sight. Greenville took them with him, and Monk secretly directed Admiral Montague to cruise off the coast of Holland with his fleet. The parliamentary commissioners, when they set out on the 13th of May, to convey to the king the vote of the two houses, were rather offended because the Admiral had only left a convoy to escort them across; and, in order to pacify their ill-humour, it was necessary to produce an antedated order from the king to Montague. As early as the 5th of May, an address from the army had been entrusted to Clarges to convey it to Breda, from whence he returned with the title of Sir Thomas Clarges, the first

of the numerous promotions which were to accompany the restoration.

Every one now hurried towards the new fountain of fortune. The roads were thronged by Cavaliers, hastening to demand the reward of their constant services; by royalists of a later date, who were anxious to make the king forget their recent adhesion to his cause; and by men of all sorts, who had a fortune either to make or to preserve. Every imagination was in movement, every hope was entertained, and every means attempted. Ten thousand pounds sterling were offered to Monk, in exchange for the appointment of a Secretary of State, reserved for Morrice. Lenthall, the speaker of the Long Parliament, who had made his power subservient to his fortune, sent the king a present of three thousand pounds sterling, with a request that he would continue him in the office of Master of the Rolls; but he soon after learned that he had been already deprived of it, and that the place was promised to another. In this active competition, everything became a marketable commodity; and cupidity, party spirit, and popular improvidence, vied with each other in setting aside all regard for public interests, so as to give free course to the torrent of new pretensions which was on the point of inundating all beside. In vain did the men who had begun the revolution and had just contributed towards terminating it, although rather more quickly than they wished, endeavour to obtain some of its fruits; in vain, while representing the return of the king as the restoration of the laws and liberties of the land, did they attempt to call attention to the securities of which these stood in need; their efforts daily became more timid, and their own passions plunged them into the current which they wished to stem. Hollis, Maynard, Annesley, and all the leaders of the Presbyterian party had, like the Cavaliers, personal injuries to avenge; and of all the feelings which then animated them, the most violent was their hatred for the republicans and Independents, those last enemies, whose outrages they had so recently experienced. By their carefulness to renounce all connexion with them, they deprived themselves of the remnant of strength which might have been afforded them by a conquered but obstinate party, and retained only power enough to crush it. The Presbyterians, in the early days of the restoration, distinguished themselves only by their bitterness in pursuing the

regicides, and by the futility of their efforts to rally a party in opposition to the reaction of the Cavaliers. Some few, during the time which elapsed before the return of the king, attempted to induce Monk to use, for the liberty of his country, the power which still remained entire in his hands. But it was difficult to offer him advantages superior to those which he had reason to expect from complete submission, and which he had determined to deserve. He resolutely declined their proposal, and in the House of Commons opposed every attempt of the kind. At the time of the debate on the instructions to the commissioners whom the parliament was to send to the king, he had strongly advised them to merit his majesty's favour by trusting to his generosity. The commissioners were despatched with no other mission than to invite Charles to resume his royal functions; and the opposition, thus informed of its powerlessness, had consented to avoid the danger of a useless defence. But, when from general they passed to personal questions, when they began to deliberate upon the list of those who were to be excepted from the amnesty, Monk, as little influenced by party hatred as by patriotic anxiety, strove to moderate the fury of vengeance or of meanness, and succeeded in reducing the exceptions to seven instead of the larger number which his opponents endeavoured to make it. He had, it it said, pledged himself to obtain an absolute pardon; and when Lord Say spoke to him of the necessity for an act of amnesty, from which some of the king's judges alone should be excepted, "Not a man!" Monk exclaimed in an angry tone; "for if I should suffer such a thing, I should be the arrantest rogue that ever lived." "Let me be damned body and soul," likewise said Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper to Colonel Hutchinson, "if ever I see a hair of any man's head touched, or a penny of any man's estate, upon this quarrel." But supposing that such declarations were sincere, Monk and Ashley Cooper soon found themselves in presence of a reaction too powerful to be resisted by their cautious and egotistical wisdom.*

* Monk had been reproached for his acquiescence in the vengeance taken at the restoration, and especially for his participation in the condemnation of the regicides who were excepted from the amnesty. My excellent friend, Mr. Hallam, with his ordinary impartiality and high-mindedness, has reduced this accusation to its true worth. "Monk," he says, "certainly did not satisfy the king, even in his first promises of support, when he advised an absolute indemnity, and the preservation of

Monk had not yet reached his last sacrifice. On the 23rd of May he received the king on the beach at Dover; and, notwithstanding the grateful reception given him by Charles, who embraced him, and called him his father, such was the humility of his deportment at this first meeting, that, according to the panegyric of one of his biographers, he seemed rather to be imploring his pardon than receiving thanks. However, in spite of these external forms, Monk was conscious of the authority vested in him by his position, and while relinquishing the power into hands so unused to its management, he thought it right to give some advice, or at least, some information. Accordingly, when on the same day the king had arrived at Canterbury, and was delivered from the selfish crowds to whose demands rather than congratulations he had to listen, Monk entered, and, without imagining that he ought to excuse himself to his majesty for so great presumption, told him that he thought he could not do him a better service than by pointing out to him the men who were best adapted to serve the country. He thereupon presented him with a list which Charles, in surprise and alarm, put into his pocket, without venturing to discuss a piece of advice which he was disposed to consider in the light of an order. Terrified by the torrent of royalist pretensions which had just burst upon him without either modesty or restraint, he thought himself besieged at the same time by the exactions of the revolutionists, and a prey to all the embarrassments of royalty. Hyde, afterwards Lord Clarendon, arrived; and Charles read the list with him. The chancellor was in even greater consternation than his master; for there

actual interests in the lands of the crown and church. In the first debates on the bill of indemnity, when the case of the regicides came into discussion, he pressed for the smallest number of exceptions from pardon." (Hallam, Constitutional History of England, ed. 1827, vol. ii. p. 161.) Lord Wharncliffe, in his translation of this work, adopts and confirms Mr. Hallam's opinion by many irrefragable proofs. Among others, he quotes Ludlow, who, in spite of his hatred of Monk, specially says, in reference to the debate which arose in the parliament on the question of the regicides, "Some proposed that all might be excepted, others would be contented with twenty, and many with thirteen; but Monk, who had betrayed them all, expressing his desires to be for moderation, they were reduced to nine, which that *boute-feu* Prynne, contrary to the orders of the House, undertook to name. Yet I was so far obliged to him, that my name was not upon his list. Monk at last prevailed with the House to bring the number to seven." (Ludlow's Memoirs, ed. 1751, p. 346.)

was not a man upon this list who had served the king, except the Marquis of Hertford and the Earl of Southampton, both known to have no need of recommendation to his favour. Beside them were placed the Presbyterian leaders, and almost all the notable men of that national party which had been formed, during the early years of the revolution, by a hatred of despotism and the necessity of resisting it. Monk had added to these a few of those men whom the course of events had raised from an inferior station to the management of public affairs. These men had governed the country; they had shared in its fortunes; they knew it, and were known by it. It was to these, in his opinion, that a new king should address himself, as he was surrounded by advisers as foreign as himself to the interests which had for twenty years agitated the nation. Monk did not anticipate the ridiculous difficulties which would enter into public affairs in the train of a king and court which had long been absent from the country, any more than the king and his minister, Hyde, could comprehend a man so careless of what was due to royalty, and of the ancient usages of the monarchy. But they still feared the old general; and the greater was his power, the more did it appear dangerous either to submit to it or to reject it. After some deliberation, it was resolved that the chancellor should seek out Morrice, Monk's principal confidant, with whom he was not yet acquainted, and represent to him the great discredit which such strange selections would do to the king's judgment or dignity, if it were imagined that he had allowed them to be imposed upon him by the general. Morrice, surprised in his turn at the effect produced by this list, which had been written by his hand, and probably at his suggestion, protested the innocence of the general's intentions, and speedily returned, on his part, to beg the king to attach no importance to these recommendations, the majority of which were destined merely to fulfil Monk's word towards persons to whom he had not been able to avoid promising his services; and to protest that from that day forth his chief desire, in all the propositions which he might venture to make, would be, that they should in no wise interfere with his majesty's freedom of choice. Charles and his minister began to perceive that they had not much to fear from a tutelage which had at first alarmed them. Meanwhile a little more knowledge of the country soon taught them to pay less attention to their aversions; and Monk's

recommendation obtained all the weight that could be granted it by aristocratic pride and the dignity of royal rancour. As for himself, he received on the following day the order of the garter, and was admitted to the council; soon after, he was invested with the rank of lieutenant-general of the armies of the three kingdoms; and from among the offices under the crown offered to his choice he took that of Master of the Horse. Lastly, he was created Duke of Albemarle, Earl of Torrington, Baron Monk of Potheridge, Beauchamp, and Tees; and to the pensions annexed by his letters patent* to these high dignities, there was added a perpetual annuity of seven thousand pounds sterling, in lands taken from the domains of the crown; while, in order to retain him more continually near the king, he was appointed a gentleman of the bedchamber.

Charles had strongly felt the necessity of attaching to himself the only man capable of restraining the army, which was still on foot, and more discontented than ever. Amid the din of acclamations, the review of the troops at Blackheath had not presented a very encouraging aspect. Those veteran soldiers, and those officers of the old army, whose frozen demeanour announced only obedience, presented to the king's eyes an immoveable but irreconcileable body, which could awake from its coldness only to turn against him. In reality this apparent calmness concealed a deep-seated anger, which daily became more violent. An army which had ever been victorious, and but lately had ruled the country, did not yield without murmuring to that vanquished party which suddenly reappeared on all sides to occupy the first ranks. The soldiers thought they were humiliated, and felt they were disdained. The aristocratic pride of that swarm of royalists, who had been transformed by the restoration into courtiers, thrust back into obscurity those men who had lately obtained or hoped for some renown. The free and noisy manners of the Cavaliers was an insult to the rather awkward stiffness of

* In these letters patent, which were drawn up in Latin, after a pompous enumeration of all the services rendered by Monk to England and to the king, we read this characteristic phrase: "Hæc omnia, prudentiâ ac felicitate summâ, *victor sine sanguine*, perfecit." It was Monk's dominant thought to accomplish the restoration of the monarchy *without bloodshed;* and this phrase in his letters-patent proves that this was also his principal title to glory in the eyes of his contemporaries.

the old officers, who felt embarrassed by their situation, and restrained by their habits; and the disorders gloried in by these licentious youths were the scandal of a party who were sedate even in their follies. On the day of the king's arrival, some one, seeing a brilliant troop of volunteers pass by, who, decorated with feathers and scarfs, were going to meet him, said to Monk, "You had none of these at Coldstream; but grasshoppers and butterflies never come abroad in frosty weather." The soldiers held in contempt the new officers whom Monk during the last few days had placed at the head of several regiments. Their meetings became frequent, and their language violent; but Monk overawed them, and no leader was in a position to raise against him even an inconsiderable force. The malcontents several times formed plans for assassinating him, or at least were suspected of doing so. Nothing but plots was talked of. Spies were dispersed in all quarters, and paid at once by both parties, whom they betrayed alike.

Charles, alarmed at this temper of the troops, and weary of the circumspection he was compelled to use by a power not yet entirely within his hands, longed for the time when he could disband the army; and Monk, ready for everything, carefully avoided any suspicion of the least repugnance to a measure which would put an end to his importance. At length the disbanding was voted, and accomplished without difficulty. Before it was quite completed, there broke out in London the insurrection of Venner, a fifth-monarchy-man, who, at the head of some fifty enthusiasts, rushed at midnight into the street, crying as a watchword, "God and Gideon," and calling to the citizens, in the full persuasion that all would follow him, and re-establish the reign of the Lord. The boldness of these men and their heroic resistance struck the court with alarm, and appeared to the general's friends a good reason why he should at least demand the maintenance of his regiment of guards, which had shown great zeal on the occasion. He refused to concur in a demand which he said would be wrongly interpreted; and all they could obtain from him was, that he would not oppose their solicitations, which, in fact, saved the regiment. Monk declared to the parliament that he had already given his orders that, until the disbanding was entirely accomplished, no soldier should be enlisted into any corps, and no officers commissioned, to replace those who might die

or be discharged. He obtained, for all those who were disbanded, the right of entering into such commercial corporations as they might choose. But though he thus insured to them some means of subsistence, which they nearly all adopted with remarkable resignation and fortitude, he could not appease the bitter feelings of their hearts against a general who had so ostentatiously renounced them.

After the disbanding of the army, Monk retained no influence beyond that which he derived from his aptitude to business, and from a devotedness, the humble reserve of which rendered his counsels as convenient as they might sometimes be useful. During the earlier years, his knowledge of men and things contributed, in as great a degree as his power, to insure him a considerable share in the government; and the Secretary of State, Nicolas, a man of business, who had been attached to his royal masters for thirty years, said, "That if the general had not been an instrument in the king's restoration, yet he deserved all the bounties his majesty had bestowed upon him, for his services after the king's return." He declined no proof of devotedness. Being appointed one of the commissioners charged to try the regicides, he did nothing either to aggravate or to moderate the severity of the prosecutions; and co-operated shortly after in the condemnation of the Marquis of Argyll, with a disgraceful abandonment of his own honour. He felt no partiality for the marquis, whose skill in intrigue had been constantly employed for the purpose of disturbing the tranquillity of his administration in Scotland; and he had injured him more than once with Cromwell. But between these two cautious men the mutual wish to do each other mischief was rarely displayed; and the letters of the marquis to Monk in particular were full of protestations of attachment to the government of the Protector. When, after the restoration in 1661, Argyll was arrested in London, and taken back to Scotland, to be there tried on a charge of high treason, he was accused of participation in the death of Charles I., and of a formal and active adhesion to Cromwell's government. The proofs did not appear sufficient, and the party who were anxious to destroy Argyll feared they would lose their victim. The Earls of Glencairn and Rothes repaired to London with all speed, to excite Monk and Clarendon in the affair, and deprive the marquis of the support given him by the Earl of Lauderdale. The Scottish parliament was

in session for the trial, and on the point of proceeding to discuss the evidence, when a loud knock at the door announced some important messenger. It was a courier from London, bearing a packet for the parliament. By the haste of the messenger, who moreover happened to belong to the Campbell clan, it was thought that he brought either a pardon or a reprieve; but when the packet was opened, it was found to contain Argyll's letters to Monk—an evidence of the insufficiency of human prudence. Monk, on being intreated to give them up, had desired to wait until they should appear absolutely necessary; and "having been informed," as he said, "of the want of proofs," he had hastened to forward them to the parliament. They dispelled all hesitation. Argyll was condemned on the next day, and Monk received, doubtless with his habitual humility, the congratulations and thanks of the court.*

Henceforward the court was too sure of Monk to think it necessary to treat him with deference. His advice, though generally good, was seldom followed; he withdrew it without ill-temper or persistence, and, though never eager to offer, never refused to give it. Careful not to encroach upon the jurisdiction of others, he took no pains to defend his own against the inroads of any man who was powerful or in favour. His behaviour was that of a courtier who has his fortune to make with everybody; and everybody knew that money could atone for many wrongs, with the Duke of Albemarle. He was even accused of allowing himself to be too easily blinded with regard to the profits derived by his wife from the nomination to appointments in the royal stables, of which he had the disposal. The manners and habits of the duchess, more vulgar and less simple than those of her husband, were the laughing-stock of a witty and jocular court, and cast a shade of ridicule over the life of the old general, which a person held in far greater respect would have found considerable difficulty in resisting.

Though he was always constant in his attendance at the

* Lord Wharncliffe, who had quoted and discussed the various testimonies upon which is based this account of Monk's conduct in Argyll's trial, has attempted, though with some timidity, to lessen their value, and to exculpate, or at least excuse, Monk. But his reasonings do not appear to me conclusive; and the unworthiness of Monk's procedure in this case remains, in my opinion, undeniable.

Privy Council and the House of Lords, Monk was imperceptibly disappearing from public life, when at the end of 1661, he fell dangerously ill. Such had been the strength of his constitution that, in his younger days, he had been seen, during a campaign, to recover from the small-pox, almost without being absent for a single day from his place at the head of his company. But for some time past he had appeared to become prematurely feeble, and this first attack of a disease under which he was destined to sink, a few years after, left him subject to painful infirmities. Attacked by asthma, and disposed to lethargy and drowsiness, he seemed to have abandoned the activity which was, perhaps, necessary to him, when an unforeseen occurrence revived the energy which still lay hid in his heavy and failing body. In 1664, England declared war against Holland, and the Duke of York, Lord High Admiral, when he left to take command of the fleet, had placed the administration of the Admiralty in Monk's hands. He devoted himself to his new employment with all his natural taste for business; but, almost contemporaneously with the war, another scourge had begun its ravages in London—the plague, which, taken little notice of at its outset, and suspended by the cold of winter, broke out in the spring of 1665 with so much violence, that an inexpressible terror seized upon all the inhabitants. The rich fled; the poor died, to the number of from six to ten thousand a-week. The royal family left London; the parliament was summoned to Oxford; the courts of justice were also transferred thither; and the greater number of men in authority abandoned all to escape from contagion. Monk remained, and having been invested by the king with the government of the town, he provided for all wants, and braved all dangers, receiving at any hour and without difficulty all who had business with him; and seconded by the courageous charity of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Earl of Craven, who, like himself, had devoted themselves to the service of the desolated populace, he established order amidst this terrible confusion, saved deserted property from pillage, rescued from famine those unfortunates whose destitution prevented them from going to die of hunger elsewhere, and was, in fine, the preserver of London. He thus regained that popularity which he well knew how to deserve whenever, liberated from all temptation to be complaisant to power, he

found himself, influenced only by his reason and his love of order, in presence of the rights and wants of men.

In the midst of this activity, new exigencies claimed his assistance. The war with Holland still continued, but the Duke of York was no longer in command of the British forces. After a brilliant affair and a doubtful adventure, he had been withdrawn from command of the fleet, under the pretext of fraternal apprehension of the dangers to which the presumptive heir to the crown was exposed. The Earl of Sandwich, who had succeeded him, had just been disgraced for an irregularity greatly aggravated by the profit which he had derived from it. Admiral Lawson was dead. There remained none but Monk, to whom the honour of the English navy could be confided. The king resolved to divide the command between him and Prince Rupert. Some doubt was felt whether Monk would consent to this association; and Clarendon, who was directed to communicate to him the king's intentions, mentioned them at first with some timidity. Monk, in fact, appeared disturbed and uncertain; he even observed that, if the plague continued, he would, perhaps, be more useful in London than anywhere else. Clarendon insisted; Monk withdrew every objection; and they went together to the king. Monk still retained his thoughtful and embarrassed air, and suddenly said to the chancellor that "he would tell him now what the true cause was that had made that pause in him upon the first discourse of the business, and that it would be necessary for him, after all things should be adjusted with the king, and duke, and Prince Rupert, that what concerned him should still remain a secret, and Prince Rupert be understood to command alone; for if his wife should come to know it before he had by degrees prepared her for it, she would break out into such passions as would be very uneasy to him; but he would in a short time dispose her well enough: and in the mean time nothing should be omitted on his part that was necessary for the advancement of the service."

His wish was complied with, and his appointment remained for some days a secret; but as soon as it became known, as soon as he was seen, with his quiet and indefatigable activity, surveying the preparations for the cruise, providing rigging, provisions, and ammunition, the sailors came in crowds to offer their services; "for they were sure," they said, "that

honest George would see them well fed and justly paid." The fleet put to sea at the end of April, 1665, and, one month afterwards, during three consecutive days, Monk, first alone, and afterwards in conjunction with Prince Rupert, engaged the Dutch, under the command of Ruyter, in the most furious actions ever sustained by either nation. The issue remained doubtful, although, on the whole, more unfavourable to the English than to their adversaries; but Monk's bravery was displayed in so brilliant a manner as to strike with admiration, and even with some fear, the nearest spectators. On the first appearance of the Dutch fleet, Monk had only a portion of his own with him, and some of his officers seemed not altogether devoid of doubt with regard to the consequences of an abrupt engagement: "At least," said he, "I am sure of one thing, that I will not be taken;" and, says the young Duke of Buckingham, who served on board his ship, "when we spied him charging a very little pistol and putting it in his pocket, we could imagine no reason for it except his having taken a resolution of going down into the powder-room to blow up the ship in case at any time it should be in danger of being taken; and therefore we, in a laughing way, most meritoriously resolved to throw him overboard in case we should ever catch him going down to the powder-room."

After four months' cruise, however, it became necessary to put back to the coast of England, to refit the disabled fleet, and Monk was at anchor in St. Helen's Bay, near Spithead, when he received the news of the terrible fire which, on the 2nd of September, 1666, reduced nearly the whole of the city of London to ashes. The king, the court, the magistrates, and the people, were all panic-stricken and stupified; the most absurd suspicions and strangest rumours were circulated and believed with reference to the causes of this disaster, and in the midst of the extravagant ravings of the popular imagination and displeasure, which ascribed all their misfortunes to the carelessness or incapacity of the government, the exclamation was heard, "Ah! if old George had been here, the city would not have been burnt." The king hastened to recall him to employ him in repairing the effects of the catastrophe; and in the following year when the Dutch, who had learned to despise, if not the English people, at least their masters, made a descent upon Chatham,

burnt nineteen vessels, and threatened London itself, it was Monk again who set out immediately, at the head of a few companies, to repel this audacious aggression. The Dutch re-embarked, but not, however, so soon but that the Duke of Albemarle, who had advanced to their out-posts, heard their balls whistle past his ears, One of his officers besought him to retreat a little. "Sir," said Monk, "if I had been afraid of bullets, I should have quitted this trade of a soldier long ago."

He had, however, made his last campaign, On his return from this expedition, his infirmities, and especially his asthma and threatenings of dropsy, redoubled in violence; he felt himself incapable of exertion, and retired to his property of New Hall, in Essex, rather to die in the peaceful repose of the country than with the hope of obtaining any alleviation of his sufferings. He paid little attention to his physicians, refused to use their remedies, and having for some years been melancholy without mentioning it or explaining its causes to any one, he merely replied to Gumble, who was still his chaplain, and who exhorted him to take care of his health, "Why should I desire to live?" However, while at New Hall, one of his neighbours, formerly an officer in his army, recommended him to take some pills, which, it was said, were a sovereign cure for dropsy, and which were sold at Bristol by a man named Salmon, who also had served under his orders in Scotland as a private soldier. This advice and remedy from old comrades inspired the old general with more confidence than the knowledge of the doctors. He sent for some of Salmon's pills, and for some time found them so beneficial, that he returned to London towards the end of the summer. But not long after his arrival, during the latter part of December, 1669, the dropsy made alarming progress, and Monk, too intrepid to lose on this occasion his habit of seeing things as they were, announced himself that he had only a short time to live. One last piece of business he had much at heart: the marriage of his son Christopher with Lady Elizabeth Cavendish, grand-daughter of the Duke of Newcastle. He hastened its completion with the same activity, and the same minute solicitude, that he would have devoted to it in perfect health, and on the 30th of December the marriage was actually celebrated in his room, which he was no longer able to leave. Nothing thenceforward could

rouse him from his indifference to others as well as to himself; his friends tried to induce him to recommend his family to the favour of the king, who came to see him almost daily. "It is useless," he said; "I do not doubt the kindness of the king for me and mine." He listened apathetically to the discourses of Gumble, who took pains to prepare him for his approaching end, and spoke of his death with great composure to his friends, whom he still continued to receive. At length, on the 3rd of January, 1670, about nine o'clock in the morning, while he was sitting silently in his chair, he sighed, turned his head aside, and expired. He was a man capable of great things, although he possessed no greatness of soul; born at once to command and to serve; sensible, patient, and bold; attached to his own interest, but devoted also, on every great occasion, to his duty as a soldier and an Englishman; and who, devoid of political ambition and with no pretensions to govern his country, was able to recognize and restore to it that government with which it could not dispense.

He was buried at Westminster, among the tombs of the kings, in Henry the Seventh's Chapel. Charles II. in person accompanied his funeral procession. No monument was erected to his memory; the effigy used at his funeral is, however, still in existence, clothed in his armour, and preserved in a wooden case. His son Christopher, after having wasted, in a life of scandalous profligacy, the immense fortune* left him by his father, and lost the credit which he owed to his name, died childless, in 1688, at Jamaica, of which island he was governor.

* Besides his great possessions in landed and personal property, Monk, it is said, left his son 400,000*l.* sterling in money.

APPENDIX.

(1.)—Richard Cromwell to Monk.

(With this superscription: *For His Excellency the Lord General Monk.*)

My Lord, April 18, 1660.

Although I cannot suppose you altogether unacquainted with my present condition, nor insensible to what my friends have represented to you concerning it; but being urged by my present exigencies, and necessitated for some time of late to retire into hiding-places to avoid arrests for debts contracted upon the public account, I have been encouraged from the persuasion I have had of your affection to me, and the opportunities you now have to show me kindness, to add this request to the former solicitations of my friends, that, when the parliament shall be met, you would make use of your interest on my behalf, that I be not left liable to debts which, I am confident, neither God nor conscience can ever reckon mine. I cannot but promise myself that, when it shall be seasonable, I shall not want a faithful friend in you to take effectual care of my concernments; having this persuasion of you, that as I cannot but think myself unworthy of great things, so you will not think me worthy of utter ruin.

My Lord, I am your affectionate friend to serve you,

R. Cromwell.

(2.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, May 5, 1659.

If my last letters have not been detained in England, they will have prepared your Eminence to receive without surprise some news of what has happened here since the first of this month. It is true that the evil did not appear so pressing, and that it was still hoped, on that very day, to find some way of accommodation; but the leaders of the army, finding that they were being amused by negociations, whilst the friends of the Protector* were pressing the parlia-

* Richard Cromwell.

ment to take resolutions tending to his establishment and their ruin, judged it fitting to provide for their own safety, and to do by force what they could not obtain by fair means. With this intent, on Thursday, at midnight, they placed the troops under arms in the neighbourhood of Whitehall; and the principal men among them having met together in St. James's, without admitting to their council those who were known to be well intentioned to the court, they sent Major-General Desborough, with a dozen officers, to demand of the Protector that he should himself dissolve the parliament on the next day. These deputies found him with a few officers who were his friends, and already informed of the resolution taken by the council of war, but also deprived of the confidence which he had had in some regiments, all the subordinate officers of which had abandoned their colonels to join other corps; to that degree even, that a squadron of cavalry refused to follow their captain, who was leading them to Whitehall. Although the Protector was aware of this general alienation, and that his friends had scarcely been able to find two hundred men, in all the troops, willing to follow them, he did not cease to display boldness, and to declare that he would suffer all kinds of violence rather than grant the request which had been made to him. This refusal obliged the said General Desborough to come to threats, and to let him know that he was not in a position to defer, even for an hour, the resolution which the army had taken; leaving him, nevertheless, the liberty, if he would not go in person to dissolve the parliament, to grant a commission, for that purpose, to some member of his council. His Highness, seeing the necessity inevitable, and those who were with him having agreed that they must submit to force, after having given some signs of his displeasure and repugnance, promised that which he could not refuse. The said General Desborough and the other deputies retired upon this promise, and went to await its performance in a neighbouring house, where the Secretary of State brought to them, between two and three o'clock in the morning, the orders addressed to the Keeper of the Seal. In the meanwhile, some companies of cavalry and infantry entered into the courtyard of Whitehall, and there conducted themselves with considerable license, especially in the cellars, and there were also many comings and goings; and they say that it was agreed not entirely to destroy the Protector, but to let him govern with

the council which will be given to him, without however allowing him to meddle with the army, which remains in London and near Whitehall, opposite to which there was a body of guards, who arrested some officers and soldiers, considered to be partisans of the court, who wished to enter. This great movement did not prevent the members of parliament from repairing to Westminster at the accustomed hour; so, when they were seated, the chief Keeper of the Seals, the president of the new House, declared the intention of His Highness and it was resolved to call in the Commons, to read to them the letters of the great seal announcing the dissolution of the parliament. But this message being sent to them by the usher of the black rod, as it had been previously determined not to receive any message from that chamber, except from one of its members, and that moreover the invitation was not very agreeable, after a debate of two hours, it was resolved to take no notice of it; and to prevent the order of dissolution being notified to them in some other way, they adjourned the assembly to this day, and separated immediately. In this deliberation the violence of the officers of the army was greatly reprehended; some proposed to declare them all traitors, and others to request the concurrence of the town of London, and to assemble there. The Presbyterians, among others, appeared very animated, and General Fairfax was malignant. Some republicans also affected discontent. Nevertheless, no conclusion was arrived at; many of the deputies wishing, and having underhand fomented, the dissolution of the parliament, because they saw it was too blindly attached to the interest of the Protector.

* * * * * *

Some also apprehend that the troops in Scotland and Ireland disapprove of the conduct of those in England, and that my Lord Henry* and General Monk are fomenting division among them.

(3.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, May 8, 1659.

* * * You may still wait for the news of the next post, before you judge of the government which is to be set up in England, and of the fate of the Protector, to whom

* Henry Cromwell, Richard's younger brother, who commanded in Ireland.

these divisions leave some hope: if the army of Ireland or of Scotland were to declare in his favour, it would be better founded. The officers here are persuaded that neither the one nor the other, and especially the latter, will take up his quarrel; and, nevertheless, the courtiers expect much from General Monk. * * * *

(4.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 12, 1659.

* * * THE sentiments of the troops in Scotland and Ireland will decide the question. It is still spoken about with uncertainty, and no one can yet have received any news, although these last few days a report has been current that my Lord Henry was in the same condition as the Protector, that is, under a species of arrest. The royalists are, meanwhile, full of great hopes, and it is true that a little assistance would be sufficient to secure their success. Some of them flatter themselves that the Protector and his party are not far removed from joining them. * * *

(5.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, August 25, 1659.

* * * THE tranquillity of Scotland is complete, and General Monk has been ordered to send two regiments into England. * * *

(6.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, September 29, 1659.

* * * GENERAL MONK, esteemed one of the best officers in the army, has lately requested permission to retire, under the pretext of business and ill-health, but, in all probability, because he is not well satisfied. His friends have prevented his letter from being read in the parliament, and wish to retain him in the service. * * *

(7.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, October 13, 1659.

* * * THE officers will no longer be dependent upon the parliament, but upon a Council of War: this was the subject of their quarrel with the last Protector, and the cause of his ruin. No doubt is felt but that the troops in Scotland and Ireland enter into the feelings of those in England; and

General Monk has yielded to the request of Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, that he should remain in the service. * *

(8.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, October 20, 1659.

* * * THE republicans have striven all these days to gain over some officers to their side, to make them sign a declaration contrary to that of the Council of War, composed of 230 officers of all ranks; and some, among others the colonels recently restored, have shown themselves sufficiently disposed to disavow the proceedings of the majority. They even reckon upon the army in Scotland, because two days ago General Monk wrote to the parliament that he had prevented the requisition of the Northern brigade from being subscribed by the troops under his command; and it is said that both parties have dispatched messengers into Scotland to gain over this leader, and to get the officers either to approve or disavow the last propositions. * * *

(9.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, October 30, 1659.

THERE is as yet no Government established in England, notwithstanding the attempts which have been made for this long while by the leaders of the army, and some ministers of the Council of State, to agree to one. They had indeed projected to form a secret council, with a senate of seventy, and to recall the parliament to make it authorize this establishment, revoke the acts of the 21st, 22nd, and 23rd of September, provide for the payment of the troops, and pass some regulations. But at the meeting which was held yesterday evening at the house of the Speaker of this body, for the purpose of concerting these propositions with the deputies, before restoring the power into their hands, they could not agree, the greater number refusing to receive orders from the army: already even many of them have retired, as well as nine members of the Council. The others continue to meet: one of their principal cares has been to dispose the judges to perform their functions, and they must sit until the twentieth of next month, parliament having given them commission only until that time. The Council of War has, meanwhile, made Lambert major-general of all the forces, and Colonel Desborough, the uncle of the last Protector, commissary-

general of the cavalry; it has also sent messengers on its part into Scotland, Ireland, and all the garrisons, to make sure of the commanders, or to dispose of them. Some doubt whether Generals Monk and Ludlow will change their views so easily, and there even appears to be considerable difference of opinion among the officers who are in London; one party is inclined to maintain the republican government, and opposes the resolutions which Lambert wishes to have adopted. * * *

(10.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, November 3, 1659.

* * * It remains for me, in order to satisfy the wish that your Eminence has to be exactly informed of the state of England, to report to you that the principal officers of the army, and some ministers of the Council of State, after different propositions and overtures of accommodation with the parliament, which met with no success, have at last resolved, on the day before yesterday, to establish a council of twenty-three persons, of whom ten are colonels, three citizens of London, and the rest members of the preceding council or of that of the Protector. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood, Lambert, Desborough, and Sir Harry Vane, are the most distinguished members of this body, and those who apparently will have all the authority, the others being persons neither possessed of a talent for governing, nor even summoned for that purpose, but only to make up the number. It is said that their establishment is merely provisional, and until they have chosen a larger number. This small body might easily continue to govern, if it is approved of by all the troops; it was to be recognized to-day by the Council of War of the officers who are in London, and in all probability the others will follow this example, although Monk, who is not one of these new ministers, has latterly again renewed the assurance of his fidelity to the parliament, which he believed still existed, and at the same time replied to Major-General Lambert, that he could not make the officers under his command subscribe to the propositions which those in England had presented to the parliament, as they were more fitted to cause division than to maintain union in the army. His letters were immediately published, and seem to have hastened the establishment of this Senate, in order that the officers in Scotland, seeing a

government constituted and the parliament dissolved, may give up the idea of taking its part. * * *

(11.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, November 6, 1659.

Since the letter which I did myself the honour to write to your Eminence on the 3rd of this month, no great progress has been made in the establishment of the gove nment of England, and we can still speak of it with only very little certainty, since the letters which arrived from Scotland on the evening of the day before yesterday, assure us that General Monk persists in his resolution in favour of the parliament, and that the news of its dissolution had no sooner reached him than he assembled the officers of his troops, declared to them his intentions, and, having found that their opinions were conformable to his own, ordered them to hold themselves in readiness to march. It is even said that he arrested some Anabaptist officers less inclined to follow him than to accommodate themselves to the desires of the army. This information caused the despatch from hence yesterday morning of his brother-in-law and a colonel with some propositions, and in the evening another messenger was sent to declare to him that it had been determined to give him battle if he cannot be brought to hear reason; it has already been even proposed to go and meet him, and decide the quarrel promptly; but he is too far advanced to draw back, and threats do not seem to be able to alarm him, as he is a very determined man. His troops may be more tractable, and prefer reconciliation to the uncertain success of a battle; this is also the principal reliance of the army in England. * * * * The cabal of the Millenarians prevails in the army, among whom Mr. Lambert is greatly decried for having no religion, or show of it, in which last alone he differs from the most of them. His reputation still maintains him in credit in the minds of the soldiers, and most honest persons in the army; and the number of these being small, his position is tolerably precarious, as well as is that of the republic, the forces of which are divided into two parties, some being friends of the parliament, and the others of those who dissolved it. These last are again very different in their sentiments. The Millenarians and Anabaptists wish to keep the government to themselves, and Fleetwood in-

clines to their side; Lambert and his faction, perceiving that they are lost if the executive authority falls into the hands of these sectaries, and being no less ambitious, are striving to render themselves the masters. Until this moment this has only been done by means of intrigue; but if the army of Scotland came to an accommodation, probably there would occur some other division, and many imagine that Lambert will at length, if he loses all hope of prevailing, treat with the king of England. Others think that Monk is not less disposed to take this side, and even that, unless he had already entered into some engagement, he would not so freely have declared himself, or have left Scotland, his departure with the troops giving that nation every facility for revolt. It is further remarked that his last letter speaks, indeed, of shedding his blood, even to the last drop, for the parliament of England, but without indicating whether he means that one which has just been dissolved. These are reflections upon which no very positive measures should be taken, and we can only state that circumstances remain very favourable for the return of the prince to that army, whose leaders are least opposed to a monarchical government, and who, as they took no part in the death of the defunct king, will more easily put confidence in the promises which may be made them on the part of the present sovereign. Their greatest difficulty would be, if they were willing to embrace his cause, to influence in his favour the troops under their command, and this is not to be hoped for until they are thoroughly engaged, the one against the other; to which they have hitherto shown so much repugnance, that a reconciliation might even take place at the expense of their leaders.

(12.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, November, 10, 1659.

I SHALL continue to inform your Eminence of the sequel of the divisions of England. Since the letter which I did myself the honour to write to you by the preceding post, news have come from Scotland which confirm the report that Monk persists in his intention to re-establish the parliament; that he has arrested all the officers of his troops who held other views, even a colonel who had been sent to him from hence; that the garrisons of Berwick, Carlisle, and another fortified

castle on the frontier of England have declared for him; and that finally, he is taking every measure to strengthen himself. Lieutenant-General Fleetwood has, at the same time, received his declaration in conformity to these advices; he has also written to the churches in the same terms, promising them assistance for the maintenance of their prerogatives. This proceeding has caused the Council of War to come to a resolution to send an army of eight thousand men to give him battle, or at least to arrest his progress; and on this very day there have left London a body of infantry and cavalry drawn from the veteran troops, whose place will be supplied by new levies. Major-General Lambert will again command in this expedition, it having been judged that General Fleetwood was more necessary in the town to maintain peace. Monk having in all Scotland only nine regiments of infantry and three of cavalry, will not be able to bring so many forces into the field as will be sent against him, unless he makes new levies or ungarrisons all the towns of Scotland; which would make him suspected by his troops of an understanding with the king of England, and would entirely alienate them, their inclination tending more towards the Republic than towards any other form of government. Mild measures are at the same time being practised to influence them, and there took place yesterday, at the instance of the officers here, a meeting of ministers, which resulted in their sending them four deputies, two of whom are colonels, who were cashiered when the parliament was restored. It is not an easy thing to divine what will be the success of this deputation, as this leader is very popular, and has now advanced too far to draw back. It is feared here that he will join the king's party if he does not feel himself strong enough, and that he has even already formed the plan of doing so, and only makes use of the name of the parliament to secure his troops, for he cannot have the preservation of that body so much at heart as to go to war on its account. Besides that, it is not so agreeable a cause that he must wait until no one is willing to authorize it, or he alone is able to defend it, the army in England being united, as it now appears, and having only the governor of Hull, whose inclinations are doubtful. Great umbrage has been caused by the conduct of the commandant of Ireland; he has arrived in London, and he will not be permitted to leave again. If the troops in Ireland do not follow his inclinations, and if those in England

remain constant to those which they at present exhibit, it will be necessary for Monk either to come to an accommodation or to seek assistance elsewhere. This last step would be very easy to him, the Scotch and English being quite disposed to revolt, but he must use great address in order to deceive his troops and although, according to public report, they are said to be very averse to a reconciliation, they will with difficulty be induced to fight against each other. It is also hoped here, that, Lambert being on the spot, his presence will give courage to those whom the fear of evil treatment prevents from declaring themselves in favour of the army; otherwise the war will be indefinitely prolonged, as neither the season nor the forces of England permit the undertaking of sieges in a very wild country, although some artillery has been embarked upon the Thames I have thought it right, in this doubtful conjuncture, to inform General Fleetwood that if my intervention could possibly contribute to reunion, I would exert myself with all the zeal which might be expected from the known affection of his Majesty to England He has this evening sent to thank me for this offer, without either declining or accepting it, excusing himself by the great perplexity of affairs for not having come in person to express to me the gratitude which the government could not but feel for a civility which it has not received from any other foreign minister. There is no inconvenience connected with being the first to take such a step as cannot fail to obtain the thanks of both parties; I nevertheless did not address myself to the Committee, so that my offer might not be made public; and, up to this hour, no notification has been sent to me of its establishment, which took place at the end of last week without much ceremony. Part of the ministers chosen having met in the room generally used by the council, a colonel brought and read to them the act of the army. Sir Harry Vane and two others asked time to consider if they should act, taking as a pretext for this postponement that this commission gave them a legislative power which belonged only to the parliament. Lambert wished to remove this scruple; but his reasons did not prevent them from retiring, and they have not presented themselves again to-day; whence we may infer that they are in doubt about the stability of the present government, and apprehend that Monk will prevail; it being certain that these same persons were at first for the dissolution of the parlia-

ment, and that they would not now make any difficulty about taking their seats, unless they apprehended its return, or the establishment of some authority which would prosecute them for having taken part in the government without any legitimate title for so doing. By the retirement of Sir H. Vane, this assembly finds itself greatly destitute of capable persons, and there only remains Lambert, who must set out in two days, probably not to return very soon. * * *

(13.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, November 17, 1659.

I shall not have to write to you to-day of the reunion of the army; there appears rather a disposition to an entire rupture, as the last advices received here state that the troops in Scotland have, with great demonstrations of joy, promised Monk to live and die with him, and that on his part he has given them reason to hope for the payment of their arrears, and has since detached some troops to take possession of Newcastle, a large town without fortifications, from whence is obtained all the coal used in England, which would render its capture very prejudicial, especially to London. Some of his letters to other towns have also been intercepted, in which he invited them to join his party, and represented London to be well-disposed towards him. To counteract these measures, Major-General Lambert set out post-haste three days ago, leaving the army in march, but without hoping that it could make haste enough to secure the frontier towns, if they had any inclination to join the said General Monk. In order to divert them from this by the example of the London militia, this body has also been requested to write a letter to that leader, inviting him to peace. But the greater part of the assembly have not yet judged it fitting to show any partiality, and seem desirous to put off a declaration until it shall more certainly appear what is his design. The public voice has maintained, during the last few days, that he is in communication with the king of England, and his enemies affect to fear something of the kind. Nevertheless, the Republicans defend him from this charge, and declare that his sole object is to re-establish the parliament. He has moreover written to the army here, in conformity with this statement. Nevertheless, whether his words do not meet with credence, or whether he judges that

necessity may lead him to adopt other sentiments, and that, if the war continues, a third party may be formed in England, new levies are being made. This precaution is the more necessary, because the city of London is beginning to hold the same views as the militia, and to change the officers whom the parliament appointed; and some of the most influential citizens even talk of having a free parliament. If Monk used the same language, he would be more readily supported; whence it follows that all sorts of means are employed to gain either him or his troops. With this view, the Committee has appointed a sub-committee to form a a government which shall meet the wishes of all parties, and disengage them honourably from the step they have taken. Sir Harry Vane has consented to be of the number of these subdelegated commissioners, although he does not publicly engage in other matters of state; but some others who had felt scruples about acting in virtue of a commission given them by the army, have become more bold; and last week there was published an act of this assembly, which continues all the officers and civil magistrates in the performance of their duties, and orders the payment of the taxes already imposed, under penalty of having to give free quarters to the soldiers. This threat has been considered extraordinary, and has given the discontented a pretext for finding fault with the present condition of England. But the Council of War feels no alarm at this, and has lately even been upon the point of suppressing tithes and the Court of Chancery, as being both a burden to the people and very unnecessary; if the wishes of the subaltern officers had been attended to, this reform would have been accomplished. The leaders must find it inconvenient to offend so many people at the present conjuncture, the sequel of which cannot clearly be foreseen; only it is probable that, if there is no secret understanding with the King of England, the quarrel will soon come to an end, and the troops will reunite, as neither are at all desirous to come to conflict with each other, and those in England have been entirely at union since the governor of Hull rejected the propositions made him by Monk, to which rejection their private enmity greatly contributed. There is nothing said about Ireland which should excite jealousy, nor about the affairs of England; and it only remains for me to subscribe myself, &c., &c., &c.

(14.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, November 20, 1659.

THE general feeling to-day appears very different to that which I described in my preceding letters. At the beginning of the week, the city of London seemed very discontented, and even inclined to press the army for a free parliament; it had also refused to write the letter to General Monk which it was requested to send, and the people daily insulted the troops, and particularly some regiments of sectaries who went on guard every night. These bad humours are now dissipated, and it is said that the mayor has promised to permit nothing that may disturb the public tranquillity, or prejudice the present government; and that this agreement has been made upon condition that those sectaries, against whom the people are greatly enraged, shall no longer be employed to guard the town; the council of citizens adopted this resolution yesterday, and having communicated it to the Committee, its terms were agreed to. At the very moment when the affair was being deliberated, there arrived letters from Monk which caused no less joy; they represent him to be disposed to treat, and he is to send four officers to manage this negociatiou, of the success of which no one doubts. There is also news that his troops have not presented themselves before Newcastle, and that those which had approached that town retired to Berwick, where the garrison declared in Monk's favour; as regards Carlisle and Tynemouth, which it was thought had followed the same example, because Haslerig's regiment was in garrison there, they have not yet declared themselves; and there appears to be complete union among the troops in England, which will doubtless abate the confidence of the others, founded upon the conviction which they entertained that some regiments here were in favour of restoring the parliament. Mention has been again made of this, in the Council of War, during the last few days, as a means for settling all differences, and it would have been resolved upon if forty members of that body had been found well-intentioned towards the army. Now that Monk has changed his views, this idea will be rejected, and the Committee will complete the work it has begun. It is even asserted that it has already determined on a form of government composed of a council of fifty, which will summon another of two hundred, and name the members to the people,

leaving them only liberty to choose them out of four hundred candidates who will be brought forward; this second body is to be changed once in every three years, and every year ten of the council of fifty will go out of office to make room for ten others to be chosen from among the two hundred. This plan has not yet been published, and before it appears, there may probably be some changes introduced into it, as the reunion or division of the army cannot but serve as a rule for the resolutions of the present government.

(15.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

My Lord, London, November 24, 1659.

The letters which General Monk wrote last week, were followed, three days afterwards, by his officers: these are three officers of different corps who arrived in London the day before yesterday, and have to-day begun their conferences with the leaders of the army. They had, on their way, seen my lord General Lambert, and their propositions must have appeared reasonable to him, as he immediately halted his troops, according to their desire. It is said that they are charged to insist principally upon the recall of the old parliament, or the convocation of a new one, on the maintenance of the ancient laws of the nation, and on the support of the ministers by the ordinary mode, that is, by tithes. The last two points seem to be ill-received by the sectaries, who wish to employ the tithes for other purposes, and establish another fund for the support of the ministers. They also have it very much at heart to change many of the laws; but as for the parliament, there will be no difficulty in obtaining it, provided that it be with such restrictions that the people shall not be able to elect persons opposed to the republican government, and that there shall also be established, at the same time, a senate with equal power in some cases; it is even said that the Committee resolved to convoke this body instead of the assembly of two hundred which was projected, and it is not probable that any of these conditions will be refused to the troops in Scotland, if they can thereby be brought to union. Some are persuaded that Monk is not treating in good faith, and that he is advancing his demand in order to gain time, and to render his cause more popular, in the hope that they will not be granted; nevertheless, the most general opinion is that he really intends to come to an accommo-

dation, seeing no likelihood of success for the cause which he maintains, since the army in Ireland has refused to join him: besides he is not a man to pursue a course of conduct so utterly at variance with his views, and his troops would quickly abandon him if they had the least suspicion of any understanding with the king's party, without whose assistance he cannot maintain himself against the whole army. It is true that the Presbyterians would readily join him, if the existing authorities were to persecute them; but whatever their inclination may be, it will not be manifested in the present conjuncture, and it was only three days ago that, in order to calm the minds of the citizens of London, who appeared still to apprehend a change in religion, General Fleetwood, Colonel Desborough, and Mr. Whitelocke went to the town-hall, and delivered three harangues in different style. The first professed entire disinterestedness of the army, and promised that no prejudice should be done to either the liberties of the nation or the government of religion. The second spoke in terms more military, and more in conformity with his rather stern character, declaring that they had not come to flatter the town, that the army would never put itself in a position of dependence upon those whom it had conquered, and that it would rather support the sectaries than suffer the adoption of any resolution to its prejudice. The last, who is now keeper of the seal, exhorted the company to union and peace, for the maintenance of which are posted, in the principal places, troops, but not sectaries. The mayor is very active, manifesting by his conduct his wish that no tumult should take place; for such would be doubtless followed by great confusion, as the people are not of the same mind, and the sectaries find themselves sufficiently numerous, together with the rest of the army, to balance the power of the other citizens; a state of things which will keep the former in their duty until the negociation has met with some success; but if fortune decreed that it should not produce an accommodation, the town would probably give some trouble to the present government, which is still occupied with home affairs. * * *

(16.)—Abbe Montague* to Cardinal Mazarin.

Bourdeaux, November 25, 1659.

Your's of the 22nd, from Auch, was received on our arrival at Bourdeaux on the 25th, the bad weather and the roads not permitting us to make greater speed. The king received here letters from England which give nearly the same news as the letter of M. de Bourdeaux; but the resolution to reduce Monk by force was one of the best pieces of news we could expect in order to begin to work in consequence. I could not adequately express to you the joy which the king manifested at your letter, for he said immediately that the proof it afforded him of the interest which you take in his affairs was even more valuable than the news it communicated; for the success of these petty movements is uncertain, but the good effect of your interest is infallible. He has therefore commanded me to inform you that, from to-morrow, he will begin to follow your views, and will take post to proceed to the frontier as quickly as possible, after having seen the queen his mother at Colombe. He has already commenced overtures to Monk, and he is assured that he can send messages to him in safety; but besides the person whom he has on the spot, who will not fail to act according to his first commission, he will despatch an express, and will begin also to have Lambert sounded by an envoy whom he thinks sufficiently trustworthy to be able to make overtures to him without their ever being turned to his prejudice. At the worst, he will inform us of the result of all to communicate it to you, protesting to you that he shall do nothing without your concurrence, or otherwise than in conformity with your advice, which he urgently begs you to be so kind as continue to him, assuring you that he will keep the secret so well that appearances shall always accord with your sentiments, and that he will derive all the advantage from this correspondence, without the possibility of any inconvenience occurring to you. This is what he has commanded me to tell you, and beg of you on his behalf, expressing to you all possible gratitude for this very opportune proof of your friendship; and I assure you that from day to day I become more bold to offer myself as a guarantee for all that he promises you, for I am more and more persuaded of his talents and ingenuity; and as for the Marquis of Ormonde, he seems to me a man of great probity

* Abbé Montague was chaplain to Queen Henrietta Maria.

and virtue, and remains very well satisfied with the conversation which he had with you.

(17.)—Abbe Montague to Cardinal Mazarin.

Bourdeaux, November 26, 1659.

The king of England left this morning by post, as I informed you yesterday that he would: this morning he has had a courier despatched expressly to bring him the declaration of Monk and Haslerig against the London army, and the march of Lambert against them with some four thousand men. The others are in greater force, according to all accounts; and they have seized the entrances into Scotland on both sides; that is to say, the towns of Berwick and Carlisle, and some say Newcastle. If this be so, the English will have difficulty in passing. The king of England hopes that they will come to blows. The best thing for him would be that the war should begin, and that it should not be finished immediately by a single battle; for, if one or the other party remained the absolute master, he would have greater difficulty in making any arrangement with the master. The king has commanded me upon this conjuncture to propose to you the consideration of this scheme, whether, in case of some sure opening for the town of London to declare itself in the absence of the army, you would judge it fitting that he should pass into England with the people whom the Spaniards might give him of their subjects; he knows also that, if you approve of the plan, you will assist him; therefore he holds himself quite ready to do whatsoever chance may present to him, being determined to undertake nothing without your advice. We shall from day to day see more clearly into the consequences of these alarms; and I will try to make myself well informed of all things on arriving at Paris, where I shall be in ten days, if it please God. The king of England greatly desired to write to you, to thank you for the attention which you have given to his interests, but I dissuaded him from doing so, foreseeing the consequence of an answer which might embarrass you. You can send it to me much more easily; and I shall expect it from M. Colbert at Paris.

(18.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, November 27, 1659.

The last letters which I had the honour to write to your Eminence will have informed you of the dispositions which pre-

vailed here with regard to an accommodation between the troops. These appearances were not deceitful, for a treaty was concluded twenty-four hours after. The deputies from Scotland were from the first so well satisfied with the government which the Committee had projected, that they no longer insisted upon the recall of the old parliament, and immediately agreed to forget all causes of discontent, to pass an act of indemnity for all that had been done on either side, to set at liberty the officers whom Monk had arrested, and to assemble at Newcastle fourteen deputies of the two armies to settle the claims of those who have lately been cashiered or suspended, both in England and Scotland; that the pretended rights of the king of England and his family shall be disclaimed; that the three nations shall be governed in the form of a free state, or of a republic without either a king, a House of Lords, or any single ruler; that there shall be established a Council of nineteen persons, ten of whom shall be moderate Presbyterians, nominated by Monk's deputies and the army here, and the other nine chosen from the three armies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; that all together, or at least nine of them, shall regulate the qualifications of those who may be elected by the people to hold the parliament; that there shall also be convoked an assembly of two officers from each regiment, one from each garrison, and ten from the navy, to whom the proposed form of government shall be presented for deliberation on the 16th of next month. It has also been resolved that the Universities shall be so well maintained and reformed that they may become schools of learning and piety. These are the articles which appear. As for the model of the government, although it is said to have been approved of, it has not yet been published. The agreement had no sooner been signed by the Commissioners of the two armies than it was presented to the general Council of officers, and, after some discussion, confirmed. Two copies of it were forthwith despatched yesterday to Generals Lambert and Monk, who had begun their march; and during the evening the cannon of the Tower of London solemnized this reconciliation, which many thought would have been more difficult than it has proved; but they had little reason for such an opinion, there being no likelihood that the interest of the old parliament could maintain a division which would undoubtedly have ruined both partes, even though it had lasted only a short time. The

people of London were daily becoming more arrogant—even to refusing the payment of the ordinary taxes—under pretext that the parliament had revoked them all two days before its dissolution. This refusal obliged the army to send soldiers with the collectors, and no disorder ensued therefrom. It has also been found necessary to change the greater number of the officers of the city militia, as the old ones were not found to be well-disposed; and the militia of Westminster refused to arm at the orders of the Committee. If the army here met with some opposition, Monk was not exempt from trouble and mistrust of the constancy of his troops, several companies of which have disbanded: thus both were in some degree compelled to an agreement; and by their treaty the power will remain in the hands of the leaders, since the government is to be composed of a Senate which they will choose; that this body will convoke parliaments when they are needed; will have a *veto* upon them, in regard to affairs of religion and government, and will even propose to them the matters upon which they will have to deliberate. It is also said that the tithes will be employed for other purposes than the support of ministers, for whom another provision will be made, and that many other regulations are to be introduced into the administration of justice. As the people of England are greatly displeased with all the revolutions which have happened, and as the new project in some measure preserves their prerogatives, in that it leaves to the parliaments the powers which they possessed under the kings, whom the Senate will represent, we have reason to believe that the present establishment will be stable, although the sectaries have more share in it than the Presbyterians, whom they will doubtless try to keep out of the parliament. It will not, nevertheless, be easy to stifle the jealousies of the leaders; and if fear of the royal family, or the impressions which are prevalent that France and Spain have resolved to undertake its restoration, have caused union at the present moment, as soon as these fears are dissipated new causes of disunion will very probably arise.

I saw Mr. Lockhart to-day, and he appeared to me persuaded that the king had no intention of interfering in the affairs of England; he will doubtless have spoken in the same strain to the heads of the government, and dissipated their suspicions, if they are real. The said general ambassador has also returned me thanks, on the part of Mr. Fleetwood, for the

mediation which I offered him at the time when the success of the negociation was very uncertain. I did not think it my duty, in the present conjuncture. to change my tone, neither did I think fit to discuss any other affair. * * * *

(19.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, December 5. 1659.

* * * My preceding despatches will have informed your Eminence with tolerable exactness of the state of affairs in England during last week, and led you to expect a complete reunion of all the forces after the accommodation upon which the deputies of both parties had agreed; this is still the wish and the hope of the leaders of the army. Nevertheless, a short time after that treaty had been signed, the deputies from Scotland received orders to insist upon the recall of the old parliament, and to demand that the command in Scotland should be separated from that in England. It has also become known that Monk has called together deputies from all the provinces and towns which are under his government. Some of his letters furthermore represent him as resolved to prolong rather than to conclude the war; and one was delivered yesterday to the city of London on his behalf, in which he professed that his sole intention was to have a free parliament, and to deliver the nation from its present state of slavery, and invited the people to assist him. Some of the company wished to prevent its being opened; but, as they were in a minority, the letter was read, and immediately the mayor, under pretext that it was late, adjourned the meeting. He has also written to other towns in the same terms; and although this was done before the General had been informed of the treaty, his conduct has not failed to excite apprehensions that he has changed his views, that the English Presbyterians have given him fresh courage, and that, flattered with the hope of becoming the leader of this most considerable party, he will reject the agreement, the retardation of which can produce none but bad consequences, as the mind of the whole nation is strongly inclined to throw off the yoke of the army, and the people are excited, as much by the old parliamentarians as by the other factions, to refuse to pay the taxes, in order to compel the soldiers, by want of pay, to mutiny and join Monk. The Presbyterians are, at the same time, striving to gain over the

others; and I learn that, during the last few days, their principal men have held some meetings in London, in order to seek out some way of accommodation which will be advantageous to the king. Besides the cabals of the enemies of the present government, there are, in the army, several conflicting interests. Fleetwood, Lambert, and the sectaries, who are headed by Vane, are each desirous of obtaining the chief power. The first party is now the strongest. Sir Harry Vane talks of retiring from public affairs, as his advice is no longer followed. Lambert will not leave so easily: he is reputed to have credit enough to draw over to his side a portion of the army, and to be ambitious enough to seek his aggrandizement from the king, if he cannot see his way clear to become, in time, the head of the republic, or at least of all its forces; he is, therefore, greatly caressed by the royalists, whom he has latterly treated with great consideration. Those of them whom I have seen are more full of hope than they have ever before appeared, and flatter themselves that the accommodation will be rejected. The opposite party has also taken the alarm, and does not deny that present appearances are very bad; and the principal reliance here is in the fear which Monk's officers will entertain lest their division should restore the king. It is even said that many have abandoned him since Lambert's troops approached the frontier; and they must now be near Newcastle, and Monk between Edinburgh and Berwick. Public rumour asserts that there has been some engagement between their parties, but this is without foundation, for it is not to be supposed that they are so desirous to destroy each other, that they have sought each other out before receiving news about the negociation from London, where the deputies from Scotland are still expecting the ratification of the treaty. It is no easy matter to foresee what will be the end of these movements. Reason ordains that both parties should come to a speedy accommodation, upon any conditions whatever; but Monk may persuade himself that, by remaining firm, all the Presbyterians will favour him, and that with their support he will become the master. Up to this hour, it is not asserted that any other project is entertained by him, or that he has any understanding with the king of England: his answer about the treaty will, ere long, develop his plans. Meanwhile, all is in suspense; even the Courts of Justice are closed, because the judges had been commissioned by parlia-

ment only until the 20th of last month. The tallages were ordered only for the same term, and by the end of the present month all other taxes will cease, although the Committee has directed their continuation: the levy will not be effected without the aid of soldiers. I have already informed your Eminence that Mr. Lockhart had visited me, and appeared persuaded that the passage of the king of England through France did not proceed from any intention on our part to support his plans: he has doubtless spoken to the Committee in the same terms. It still continues to affect great jealousy of his Majesty's inclinations—a feeling partly originated by the royalists, although it would be the means of bringing the minds of the army into greater unanimity. * * *

(20.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, December 8, 1659.

The affairs of England remain in the state which I described to you in my preceding letter. The ratification of the agreement between the two armies has not yet arrived, and it was not expected until to-day or to-morrow. However, it appears that General Monk has declared to the Assembly of Scotland, which was held in the ordinary place of meeting of the parliaments, that God and men summoned him to England to re-establish the parliament; and that he exhorted the deputies to do their duty in maintaining public tranquillity during his brief absence, and requested some pecuniary assistance. The said deputies professed that they did not wish to interfere in the quarrel, as its termination could not be advantageous to their country, and that as their country was disarmed, nothing was to be apprehended from it; that, nevertheless, they would not fail to do their best to keep it in peace, and would give a subsidy. This strong disposition to open their purse casts greater suspicion upon the inclinations of this general, there being little likelihood that the Scotch, who are not very rich, and still less fond of their governor, would grant him assistance so readily, unless they saw their way clear to gain him over to the interest of the king, for whom he formerly fought. Besides that he has at present no other object than the one he professes, this distrust is augmented by the changes he is making in his troops while the deputies are negociating; and although they still hope not to be disavowed, recruitments and new levies are being

made all over England, either in order to reduce it to reason, or to overcome the resistance which will be opposed to the levying of the taxes, for the people daily become more determined, insomuch that an artisan in London sorely maltreated some soldiers who were assisting the collectors. The difficulty will not be less in the country, and fear alone will be able to extract money, so long as the taxes are not enacted by the parliament. The Committee is working at the same time to place the new form of government in a fit state to be presented to the officers of all the armies who are to assemble on the 16th of this month, and the Council of War has appointed twenty-seven commissioners to examine it. It has also had some debate about recalling the old parliament, or at least forty members of it. * * * The city of London has not yet deliberated upon Monk's letters; they are even suspected of being suppositious, and the bearers have been arrested since they were disowned by the deputies from Scotland. A report has been very prevalent that some troops of both parties had encountered each other, and the disadvantage was on the side of Lambert's men, but it has no foundation, and up to the present time no act of hostility has taken place on either side; and it is probable that, even if the accommodation is not approved of, the assembly of officers will take place notwithstanding on the 16th, and that meanwhile all things will remain in their present state. * * *

(21.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, December 11, 1659.

I THINK I have fulfilled the order which your Eminence gives me in your letter of the 27th of November, not having allowed any post to leave without informing you of what had come to my knowledge regarding the affairs of England, and it was not until after I had performed this duty that I wrote to M. de Turenne on public affairs; but some of my letters, and among others, that in which I relate the dissolution of the parliament, have been suppressed, and no restitution of them has been made, notwithstanding my complaints. I should be deceived if the present had the same fortune, since it informs you of Monk's answer to the treaty which his Commissioners had signed at London. I send a copy of it, that you may judge from it what are his intentions. This despatch had no sooner arrived yesterday evening at London,

than a resolution was taken to send back the deputies from Scotland to Newcastle to-day, and to give General Lambert power to treat, on the spot, about the differences which may remain. The royalists do not think that these can be settled so easily, and are persuaded that Monk still claims independence of the general who commands in England, and will never allow the officers whom he has cashiered to be restored; their hope is, moreover, founded upon the fact, that three additional regiments have been commanded to march to the frontier since this news. and that the leaders of the army speak with uncertainty about the success of this negociation. Nevertheless, as it does not appear that Monk has any understanding with the king of England, and as his troops are considerably weakened by the continual withdrawal of the officers, and further, as neither the English army, nor the city of London, have declared for him, according to the assurance which had been given him,—it is not to be presumed that the division will continue; and the English army is so well aware of the ill effect which war would produce, not to grant the greater part of the demands that will be made, excepting the separation of the forces. It is said that the despatch from hence will find the Scottish army on the march with its artillery and baggage; that, on the same day, Monk had dismounted three companies of cavalry which were with him, and that the goodwill of his troops towards him was beginning to subside; and that thus the evil would not be so great if he should be very much opposed to the accommodation, in reliance upon which the regiments are naming their deputies to proceed to London on the 16th, and form a government there. Mr. Lockhart returned to Dunkirk to-day, after having obtained that the regiments of his garrison should belong to the main body of the army, but having failed to procure the restoration of the officers cashiered during his absence. The letter which he gave me to forward to your Eminence will, doubtless, inform you of the object of his journey, and of the resolution here regarding the continuation of the truce between England and Spain: he entered into no explanations with me; but he strongly assured me of having done all in his power to dispel the jealousy felt here in regard to France. I shall not fail to see some member of the government upon this matter. and diligence is very necessary now that the king of England is staying in France; for his party have

published some propositions which he made to induce the king and your Eminence to undertake his restoration, which will be difficult if his ill-fortune decrees that the troops should come to an agreement; it is, however, true that even if they become reconciled now, there will always remain seeds of dissension for the future. * * *

(22.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, December 15, 1659.

The news to-day will represent the condition of England, as rather different from what it has been of late; and if my letters by the preceding post led you to expect the reunion of the troops, you will now doubtless judge that this is still very remote, as the people of London are inclined to favour the designs of General Monk. About the end of last week, it was discovered that, at the instigation of some Presbyterian ministers, royalists, and old parliamentarians, some apprentices of this town proposed to get up a requisition tending to the convocation of a free parliament, or to the recall of the last, and to the maintenance of the churches. The Committee, upon hearing this, directed the mayor of London, on the 12th inst., to publish on the following day, a prohibition to proceed further in the matter, on pain of indictment for treason. He did not refuse to obey; nevertheless, under the pretext of indisposition and fear of the people, the officers whose duty it is to perform this act refused to do it, and the mayor being again called upon, asked time to confer on the subject with the Common Council, which met at eight o'clock this morning. But, without waiting until its deliberations were over, a company of cavalry proceeded to the front of the Exchange, and attempted to make the proclamation. The apprentices did not fail to gather around, and to interrupt it by yells, even to maltreat the trumpeters and mingle among the horsemen, who not finding themselves strong enough to withstand the populace, retired in disorder, and were pursued as far as St. Paul's Church, where there is a garrison. Immediately, all the cavalry and infantry which had been posted in different parts of the town took arms, and marched through the streets in order of battle, and one regiment went to take possession of the neighbourhood of the Exchange. The apprentices having continued still to irritate them with words, and even with stones, the soldiers fired upon the people, only two of whom were killed and several

wounded; the rest dispersed, having no arms wherewith to defend themselves. At the same time the shops were shut. Some cried to arms, and six apprentices went to the Guildhall, where the citizens were assembled, and presented their requisition, signed by a large number of others; it was immediately read, and a committee of twelve appointed to examine and report upon it to the assembly. It was also resolved immediately to request General Fleetwood to withdraw his soldiers, and to order the heads of families to keep their apprentices and servants at home, that peace might be preserved. Before this deliberation was finished, the troops had several skirmishes in the streets with the citizens: some more of the latter were killed and wounded, and one artisan was obliged, in order to escape having his house burnt down, to give up his apprentice, who had thrown stones at the soldiers. The disturbance continued until the evening, when the deputies from the citizens went to General Fleetwood, and informed him of the resolution of the town-council, assuring him that the magistrates would do their best to repress insurrection, if he would withdraw his troops into their quarters. He accepted this offer, and Colonel Desborough, at the head of three companies of cavalry, with drawn swords and pistols in hand, went to the mayor to request him to order the people to retire, which was immediately done. The soldiers at the same time evacuated the streets, and returned to their ordinary posts: and tranquillity seems now to be fully restored, although the ill-feeling is not extinguished, and the citizens declare that they will not suffer the army to be in the town. It is not, however, probable, that the guard will be entrusted to them; this would be affording the ill-intentioned, the number of whom is considerable, facilities for promoting their very different design; many of them aim only at restoring the king, and amuse the populace under the name of liberty; others hope to have a free parliament, and believe that they will succeed, if Monk joins them; and the old parliamentarians hope that the confusion will force the army to recall them. The latter have, during the last two days, made themselves masters of Portsmouth, and the governor whom they had established there, has received Sir Arthur Haslerig, and three others of his faction; the news arrived yesterday in time to give free course to the malcontents, and some say that Hull and Plymouth have joined the same party. Letters from Monk

also arrived the day before yesterday, which represent him to be very arrogant. He requires that Lambert shall withdraw his troops, which have approached too near his quarters, if they have any desire to treat, and avows the letters which have been presented to the city of London, by demanding the liberation of the bearers; from whence it is judged that his former dispositions to an accommodation have greatly altered, and that the progress of his party will render it still more difficult, although the prolongation of this quarrel must, according to all appearance, turn to the advantage of the king of England. Those, therefore, who desire his return are full of hope, and leave no means untried to excite the people of London, who are ill-disposed to insurrection on account of the injury done to trade by domestic disorders; it is not that the principal inhabitants do not apprehend a tumult, and that this fear cannot prevent them from following their inclinations, and that there are not many of them very much opposed to the return of the king, through being in possession of confiscated property. This diversity of interests does not permit me as yet to form a solid judgment about the future, and I can only promise to write by every post the consequences of to-day's action, and if the ports are closed, as there is reason to believe they are, to send an express messenger to France, that your Eminence may be as fully persuaded of my diligence in the execution of your last orders, as I beseech you to be of the affection and respect with which I am, &c.

(23.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, December 18, 1659.

* * * Since the 15th, the ill-feeling between the city and the army has augmented rather than diminished; the mayor has refused to wait upon the Committee, who had summoned him to attend, and the Common council declares, that in an interregnum like the present, their chief magistrate ought rather to give than receive the law from any other authority. This same body appears greatly inclined to press for the convocation of a free parliament, and I have been told that a requisition to this effect is now being signed by the principal citizens, the number of apprentices not being capable to authorize a demand of this nature. The citizens profess also that they cannot allow the town to be guarded by the army, and they have received orders to hold them-

selves ready to arm the militia; besides their natural aversion to the soldiery, the people are instigated by the royalists and old parliamentarians to insist upon this last point, which they think will not be granted by the government, and failing to obtain which, they would immediately declare themselves. These unfriendly feelings have as yet produced no hostility, and the troops remain in their posts with as much arrogance as ever. It is even said that, within the last twenty-four hours, they have been supplied with a quantity of ammunition, and among other things, with grenades, in order that fear of pillage and fire may keep the wealthy citizens in their allegiance, and without their assistance the common people can effect nothing. * * * But if the state of London is doubtful, that of the country is far from being certain. The news of the defection of Portsmouth has been found to be true, and eight companies of infantry have set out, in the belief that a portion of the garrison is disposed to open the gates to them; some vessels have also left the Downs to proceed thither, and keep in obedience those which are at Portsmouth. Fears are also entertained about the Isle of Wight, and some other places on the same coast; but Colchester is said to have declared in favour of the parliament, and what has taken place in London will give so much courage to all people, that a reunion with Monk can alone dispel all these storms. I do not learn that any news from him has been received here of late, and a colonel has been despatched to Newcastle to hasten the accommodation, the delay of which cannot but be very favourable to the king of England; which leads people to believe that this general will become more tractable, unless he has more plans than one. Some reports affirmed that he had armed the Scotch, and placed several fortresses in their hands; but apparently his troops would not have suffered him to do this: he has paid them two months' wages out of the ordinary taxes of the country, and gives liberty to all those officers and soldiers whose views are contrary to his own to retire. * * *

(24.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, December 25, 1659.

* * * IF my preceding letter represented the city of London to be agitated, tranquillity now appears to be somewhat restored; and either because the leading citizens have

lost courage, on seeing the failure of the design on the Tower, or because the mayor and citizens foresee the inconveniences of domestic warfare, the people have not yet taken arms, neither has the militia guard left London; and to-day orders have been given on the part of the mayor to all the heads of families to keep strict watch over their children, apprentices, and servants, so that the public peace may not be disturbed. This order is based upon the convocation, which has just been published in front of the Exchange, of a parliament on the 5th of February, in conformity with the answer which General Fleetwood gave on the day before yesterday to the deputies from the city; he communicated to them at the same time the resolution taken by the council of officers regarding the form of the government. * * * Even if the expectation of parliament should put a stop to these disorders, still, if it is ill-intentioned, which we must presume it will be, the army will have some trouble to maintain the establishment which it contemplates, and still more to destroy a body whom the whole nation will have chosen: it might even happen that the proposed restrictions will serve only to rekindle the fire, which is not thoroughly extinguished. The common people of London seemed very disposed to insurrection, to which they are instigated by the royalists, among whose ranks we may include a portion of the Presbyterians, some of whose ministers have of late spoken openly of the king of England in their sermons and prayers; and in all probability, if the mayor of London had not been a man of peace, we should already have beheld many disorders here. The danger is not yet past, and there is still great reason to fear so long as the troops are disunited. The letters which have arrived from Scotland, and the report of the deputies whom a congregation of ministers had sent to Monk, in order to dispose him to a treaty, represent him as far removed from such a step; instead of hastening the meeting at Newcastle which he had demanded, before he will send his new deputies, he wishes to see those who signed the treaty at London; and this conduct is attributed to be a design for gaining time. Some of his troops, in violation of the negociation, have also marched towards England; and moreover all the speeches of this general tend only to war, under the specious pretext of restoring the parliament. He might probably have pursued this course of conduct in the hope that the city and Tower of

London would support his plans; but if he does not change his tactics, now that he knows that one has entirely failed, and that the leading citizens are opposed to the other, there will be no reason to doubt the existence of a perfect understanding between him and the royalists. * * *

(25.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

SIR, London, December 29, 1659.

* * * I WILL not fail to comply as quickly as possible with the order which your Excellency has given me to inform this government of the peace of France, and of the dispositions of his Majesty towards England, which are in conformity with the language which, on different occasions, I have had to use to the ministers here in order to dispel the distrust produced by the letters written by the royalists on the continent to those in England, to encourage them by the hope of strong assistance from France, and in order to contradict the reports which have consequently prevailed, without giving rise to any complaints against me on the part of the royalists. But the most considerate have remained of opinion that it would cause the entire ruin of their affairs, if the people apprehended the return of the king of England with foreign troops; for the parties which are now in arms are not so embittered against each other, but that the slightest likelihood of this prince's return would reunite them; the greater number even of those who wish him back do not desire to see him in a position to exercise absolute authority, but rather necessitated to grant them all the conditions they may desire. This capitulation can be made only by a free parliament; this is, therefore, the object aimed at by the Presbyterians, and generally by all the nobility, who are confident that, if the votes of this body are not influenced by violence, they will restore the monarchy, and that not only the town of London, but all the people of England would arm to prevent the army from treating this parliament as it did the former one. Whether these measures are true or false, prudence will not permit me to declare too openly for either one or the other party just now; and, with great reasonableness, I am directed to regulate my language according to the condition of the present government, so as not to offend those into whose hands it may ere long fall. My conduct will continue to be conformable to this advice, until I

perceive on which side fortune will turn. Although, at the present, the king's name is mentioned in the declarations of Monk and the other malcontents only to express entire alienation from his interests, he nevertheless has never yet had such great cause for hope—as the present confusion makes those who destroyed the monarchy desire its return, and there is moreover considerable room for the presumption that, if the present ill-will between the leaders of the army continues to increase, some of them will be forced to seek safety in the royalist party. There is no news yet whether Monk is disposed to peace, and if the ill-success of the design of the old parliament upon the Tower of London, and the orders of the mayor of London to keep the people in peace, had rendered this general more tractable, he will have had reason to return to his former views after having been informed that, notwithstanding the convocation of a parliament was proclaimed on the 25th of this month, Lawson, the admiral in command of the Channel fleet, has openly declared for the recall of the old parliament, and that, on the 26th, he entered the river with thirteen vessels, in order to favour those in the city who have the same inclinations, and to intimidate the others. * * * *

(26.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, December 29, 1659.

* * * It appears to me that there is a great cabal of the nobles and principal Presbyterians; their design is to induce the town-council, in spite of the mayor, to demand the restoration of the Long Parliament, but with all the members who were excluded from it before the death of the king, feeling sure that they will recall his son on the conditions which he granted in the Isle of Wight. They had expected that the people would take arms on the preceding night; and they are striving to excite an outbreak by all sorts of ways. I have besides had conversation with one of the near relations of General Fleetwood, and have given him strong assurances that his Majesty, notwithstanding any reports to the contrary, had contracted no engagement in favour of the king of England, did not contemplate assisting him with his troops, and would not meddle with domestic divisions of this nature, except in order to appease them, if his intervention were desired. He greatly exaggerated to me the present state of

affairs, representing Monk as already engaged with the king, or very disposed to take up his cause; the city of London as ill-disposed, although the principal citizens profess to desire to maintain peace; and the generality of the officers as incapable of taking any resolution. He even went so far as to give me to understand that if his relative and the members of his party could find safety in an accommodation with the king, they would not refuse it, but that such a proposition was too dangerous to be hazarded, and that distrust alone would lead many other principal officers to take the initiative in order to make more favorable conditions for themselves. I judged it advisable to state that his Majesty would hear with regret of this bad state of things, that he had hoped soon to be informed of the reconciliation of the troops, and that the king of England was so much attached to Spain, that his restoration could not but be one day prejudicial to France, unless those who restored him should request his Majesty to be their arbiter and warrant for the conditions of the treaty; that this was the greatest safety which they could find, and also a very proper deference to exhibit, in order that the royal family, returning by the intervention of France, might feel no more resentment at the close connexion which has existed between our two countries of late. This speech was well received and followed up, without, however, my inviting them to an accommodation so long as any other resource was left; consequently, I was merely informed that, according to the course of affairs, Mr. Fleetwood would take his resolution, and that he would doubtless avail himself of this opening, which cannot give umbrage, but must, on the contrary, produce some advantage. Monk's brother-in-law also saw me not long since, and represented the general to have no other design than the restoration of the parliament. Nevertheless, he does not answer for the future, and if the movement which is taking place in London does not decide him to make peace, he must have some understanding with the English Presbyterians; in which case the army would not be able to maintain itself long, and the king of England would return upon the conditions of the Isle of Wight. The Catholics are in great apprehension, and hope that France and Spain will take part in this revolution, fearing that otherwise their condition will be worse than it is under the present government. The hopes of the one party and the fears of the other may both be ill-grounded, and the Council of War, now

in session, may take resolutions which will reunite all minds. There is much talk of recalling the last parliament, although the convocation of another has been proclaimed; as for the conservators of the principles,* they will, to all appearances, be suppressed if the misunderstanding continues. And if your Eminence judges it advisable that I should make advances to any party, you will, if you please, let me know: meanwhile, in order to disoblige none, I shall continue to speak fair words to all. * * *

(27.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, January 1, 1660.

The city-watch so often arrested the bearer of my letters by the preceding post, that they arrived too late at the office; I shall therefore join them to my present letter, in order that your Eminence may be informed of what had taken place up to the first day of the week, although affairs seem to have entirely changed their appearance within the last hour. On the 30th of last month, two very similar resolutions were adopted by the town council, and by that of the officers of the army. In the first of these assemblies, after the mayor had cleared himself from the public reproach which had been cast upon him of having abandoned the interests of the town to support the designs of the army; and after he had also disavowed that he had approved of the establishment of the conservators of the principles of the republic, it was determined to use every effort with the army, in order that a free parliament might assemble as quickly as possible, notwithstanding the letter which, during this deliberation, was presented on the part of Admiral Lawson in favour of the last that had separated. Some of the citizens coincided in this opinion; others, also, held up their hands in its favour, but on condition that all the members excluded from their seats in 1648 should be readmitted; and many were for a new election. This diversity of opinions resulted in the company agreeing to general terms which, in some sort, left the army liberty to choose whichever it should please. The council of officers was, at the same time, deliberating upon the report of the deputies who had been sent to the fleet, the Vice-Admiral of which would not depart from his original resolution, and had only offered to agree upon some articles for the

* The keepers of the liberties of the republic of England.

security and indemnity of the principal officers of the army provided that, before they entered on a treaty, they should agree to recall the old parliament. The firmness of this leader, and the difficulties which are met with in all the other establishments, had so greatly shaken the subaltern officers, that their superiors had some trouble to prevent them from revoking their resolution of the preceding week in conformity with that of the city. But the conservators of the principles were destroyed, and it was found more advisable to form a committee of officers who should take care that no attack was made upon either liberty of conscience, the support of the army, or the republican form of government. It seemed likely that these two deliberations would restrain for some time the violence of the parties, each being full of hope that the parliament would be favourable to it; the royalists persuading themselves that they would be able to recall the king upon certain conditions, and the army that neither Monk, nor the fleet, could refuse to submit to it. * * * * Yesterday occurred the election of a new common council for next year, from which all those sectaries who lean towards the army were excluded, and Sir Harry Vane returned to Lawson, who was near Gravesend with twenty-one vessels, and whose fleet is daily increasing, only two vessels remaining in the Channel to cruise before Dunkirk, although he has been pressed to send more thither, out of fear lest the king of England should undertake to transport foreign troops into England or Scotland. But, contrary to all expectation, upon the news that Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had been joined by the troops sent from hence against him, was preparing to march towards London with fifteen hundred horse, it being proposed to the Council of War to send some troops to give him battle, the greater number of officers opposed it. At the same time, two regiments which are on guard near Whitehall declared for the old parliament, although their colonels are opposed to it. The other corps are disposed to follow this example, and this general alienation seems to leave no other course open to General Fleetwood, than to join the city with the rest of his faction, and summon a new parliament: indeed, I am told that he has sent to make this offer, which will be very agreeable to the royalists; but it will come very late, and it has even been reported to me that news has arrived this evening of an accommodation signed on board the fleet, which

recalls the parliament, and assures an act of indemnity to all the officers and others who have taken part in public affairs of late, with the exception of Lambert, of Whitelocke, the keeper of the seals, and of Lord Warrenstowne, a Scotchman, and member of the committee. If this report be true, we shall speedily see this treaty carried into effect, and the praise or blame attaching to it will be due to Vane, who is accused of having excited the fleet when he saw that he had lost his credit with the army. Reports are also current that some assemblages have taken place in the country, and even that the cavalry are in a state of excitement at Oxford; but no credit can be given to them, and what now appears most certain is the return of the parliament, to the great prejudice of the royalists. Nothing is said about Monk, except that he is at Berwick with his troops, waiting for news of what is going on here. The intelligence of the accommodation of the Dutch with the king of Sweden is not confirmed, and even their ministers who had communicated it to me, beg me to make offers here in their favour, which I shall not fail to do as soon as the present storm is dispelled; it is also for this reason that I defer giving information of the peace between France and Spain. I am, &c.

(28.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, January 5. 1660.

THE information which I gave you on the 1st of this month regarding the disposition of the troops has proved so correct that, although on that same day, in the general council of officers, their leaders had taken a resolu ion to insist strongly upon certain principles which, in part, tended to their own preservation, nevertheless, on leaving the assembly, each one had no thought but how he should make his own private arrangement with the old parliamentarians; and on the following day, there was not found a single company in all the regiments of either Fleetwood or Lambert which had not changed sides, some without taking any precautions, others after having bid good-bye to their leaders, and excused themselves on the ground of the necessity to which they were reduced of conforming to the views of the troops in general. The members of parliament who were on board the fleet returned at the same time to London, and met, together with the others who were in the city, at the house of the Speaker, in

whose name they sent to Mr. Fleetwood to demand the keys of the parliament. He delivered them into their hands, and, shortly after, upon the refusal of some corps to obey his orders, he resigned to them also the direction of the army, and prepared for retirement. Nevertheless, either because they have assured him of good treatment, or because he would rather expose himself to the rigour of the parliament than take to flight, he has not yet quitted London. But Colonel Desborough and all the other leaders have retired, and the troops have received their orders from the Speaker, in front of whose house they assembled the day before yesterday. He came down to the threshold of his door, in his robes of ceremony, and received from the officers an assurance of their future fidelity, which assurance the soldiers accompanied with joyful acclamations: they afterwards marched in bodies through the streets of Westminster without entering the city until the evening, when a portion of the infantry returned thither to their ordinary posts. The Speaker, accompanied by some of the deputies, then went to take possession of the Tower of London; and, although the garrison had previously refused to recognize the government which the army had decreed, they made no difficulty about receiving him, and submitting to the parliament; and three commissioners were left there to give them orders until the session, which commenced this afternoon. Before entering their house, the deputies proceeded to Whitehall, to ascertain their number, and having found that it was sixty, among whom are those very persons who compose the Committee, no one besides Mr. Whitelocke, the Keeper of the Seals, having absented himself, they went and took their places without any ceremony or guard; the Speaker only was between the two earls who conducted me to the audience. Their first deliberation was to order a month's pay to the troops, and to decide upon the provisional government of the troops, which has been given to some colonels whom the army had cashiered. The company of guards came afterwards to take its post before Westminster Hall, commanded by the same officers whom Lambert had dismounted on the day when the parliament was broken up, and all things are returned to the state in which they were before this revolution. There is no doubt felt but that the other troops will follow the example of those in London. Already Desborough's regiment, which had been recalled from the Scottish frontier, has sent its major to give assurance of its fidelity. There is here also, a

colonel from the garrison of Dunkirk who speaks no less positively, and there is no reason to distrust the troops sent against Monk, since they were detached from the regiments which are in London. It is not that Lambert, believing himself lost, cannot take the king's side, under the pretext of favouring a free parliament, which the people greatly desire; but the English generals have little authority with the officers, who see that the convocation of such a body entails the return of the king, and consequently, their entire destruction. As for the Irish army, the greater part of it had already mutinied and had arrested two of its leaders, so that the commander, a staunch republican who had been detained here, was obliged to return thither last week in all haste, to extinguish the fire which is thought to have been partly kindled by the friends of the last Protector, who desire to recall his brother,* their former leader. The city of London alone appears to entertain sentiments not very favourable to the present government. It was, perhaps, remarked in my preceding letter, that, last week, the citizens elected a new council, composed of persons well-affectioned towards the king. The day after its establishment, letters were presented to it from Monk, Lawson, and Haslerig, all tending to induce the city to join them in re-establishing the old parliament. This incitement, and the pretext of present danger in a time of division among the troops, gave rise, during all the latter days of last week, to different resolutions. It was at first determined to send a deputation to the last two of these leaders, to inform them of the resolution which had already been adopted to convoke a free parliament, without explaining whether it had reference to a new one, or to the old one together with the members excluded in 1648. It then became necessary to change the militia, to hold it in readiness, to restore the chains to all the streets, and to demand their restoration by the governor of the Tower, in whose custody they are kept. These decrees obliged the Speaker to call upon the mayor on the day before yesterday, to represent to him that these precautions were now very unnecessary, since the army had returned to obedience to the parliament; and the result was, that this magistrate, who is naturally very pacific, promised to continue his cares to prevent any interruption of the

* Henry Cromwell, Richard's younger brother, and for a long time the governor of Ireland.

public tranquillity. Nevertheless, the main reliance of the royalists, and their only resource, is that the town-council will not agree to this, that it will persist in its resolution to arm the people under the officers already selected, and to insist upon the convocation of another parliament, if the excluded members are not recalled: that even the city train-bands would put an end to the sessions of the present parliament, that all the people of England will support them, and that Lambert and the other officers ruined by its return will embrace the same cause. This is, in effect, the only resource that remains to the royalists, and I am persuaded that if the wishes of the people were attended to, their projects would succeed. But as there is now no established and respected authority, it is doubtful whether the wealthy citizens who remained peaceful in more favourable times, would be willing to engage in a war which would be unsuccessful if the army remained united. The most disinterested are of opinion that their division alone can encourage the people to arm, and that after having had a good grumble they will be appeased, unless Lambert succeeds in gaining over some corps. Fleetwood made an offer in writing, on the day that he was abandoned, to join with the city in favour of a free parliament; but on the next day, having been summoned to keep his word, his sentiments were changed. Even though it be unfounded, there is a report that Sir Harry Vane had agreed with the commander of the fleet upon an indemnity for the leaders of the army, who make bitter complaints of him, and say that he is in part the author of this unexpected change, which may be attributed to the resolutions of the Council of War, to the necessities of the troops who were not paid, to their fatigues, and the continual dangers to which they were exposed during the interregnum, without any hope of seeing its termination except by their total ruin, if a free parliament were called—while, on the other hand, this parliament, not being able to maintain itself without the army, will pay them, and dissipate all the factions which may arise. These weighty considerations may also have been supported by the intrigues of the parliamentarians, who during all this time have had liberty to act, and by others who did not see that their authority would be so much augmented by the ruin of the parliament as they had hoped. This is, my lord, the present state of England. My next letters will give even more certain information of its

condition. Meanwhile, I have only to beg you to allow me to sign myself with respect, &c.

(29.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, January 8, 1660.

My last letter informed you of the resolutions of the parliament at its first session; on the next day, the 6th, they passed an act for the continuation of the customs and excise duties until the 10th of March: liberated those who had been imprisoned by their predecessors in power, disbanded all the troops levied without authority, ordered that the troops in the North should retire to the quarters which would be assigned them by the directors of the army, without mentioning Lambert, their commander, and voted that the Speaker should present the thanks of the house to General Monk, Admiral Lawson, and the commissioners who were at Portsmouth. During the time that these deliberations were proceeding, about thirty of the members, whom the army expelled from the parliament in 1648 for having advocated an accommodation with the King, presented themselves at the door to resume their seats, presupposing that as violence, and not any just cause, had deprived them of their rights, they would meet with no opposition, now that the army was subjected to the parliament. It was not, however, thought desirable to admit them, but only to resolve that the matter should be taken into consideration on the 15th of the month; that they should also deliberate upon the means of filling up the vacant seats; that meanwhile a committee should examine the proceedings, orders, and reasons concerning the absent members, who were obliged to be satisfied with this answer, although it appears to them an amusement until news shall arrive from the troops in the North. The debates yesterday were of no importance; it was only resolved to pass an act of indemnity for the soldiers who had returned to obedience to the parliament, that a loan of £20,000 sterling should be raised, and that a review should be held only of the subaltern officers and soldiers. To-day, the act of indemnity occupied their attention, and their minds appeared somewhat excited when, upon this subject Sir Harry Vane spoke of Lambert, some of the assembly having called him a traitor. The town-council has, on its part, continued to carry out its former resolutions touching the establishment of the militia, which is to consist of six infantry regiments, of

3,000 men each, under very royalist colonels, to the exclusion even of the Presbyterians, who are not considered sufficiently zealous. It was also resolved yesterday, to present a requisition to the parliament to the effect that that body may be free, which imports the recall of the excluded members, and in general there appears to be great disposition to press upon this point. Some even flatter themselves that, if the city is not satisfied, it will receive these deputies, and that they will compose a parliament more considerable than the present, both in rank, fortune, and number. But to all appearance, the one party will not have courage to sit, or the other to exclude, unless Lambert has formed a faction in the army; no one doubts his good-will, and despatches have been sent to him from hence to invite him to do so. The difficulty is about his credit among the troops, who are by no means accustomed blindly to follow their leaders, and who are sufficiently enlightened to perceive that they must either conform to the views of the others, or support the interest of the King, although they talk of nothing but a free parliament. As the number of discontented officers is very great, and moreover the English government shows no wish to arrange with them, despair may make them act in opposition to their own inclinations: in this case, the confusion would be as great as it ever has been of late, London and the country having no more affection for the parliament than for the army. It is to be believed that expectation of what Lambert may have done will keep men's minds in suspense. The last news received about him states, that he was preparing to march against Monk on the 2nd of this month, because the latter general had refused to treat without the sanction of those of his party who are in Portsmouth; but the country, the season, and the retreats possessed by the latter general, give him great facility for avoiding an engagement as long as he may please, and orders will arrive from hence before the two armies will have been able to approach each other. It is also said that a brigade of the troops from Ireland, who were serving under Lambert, has abandoned him, not being persuaded of the justice of his cause, and that the others will hear with joy of the re-establishment of the parliament, in favour of which a part of the Irish army had declared, and had surprised Dublin. These dispositions leave room for belief that, if prosperity does not render it too haughty, its establishment will be consolidated, notwith-

standing the opposition of the Presbyterians, whose leaders are coming round. Liberty to return has been granted to those who retired voluntarily; and it might also be granted to the others if they would enter into an engagement against the king; otherwise their places will be quickly filled up by new elections, as it had been already proposed before the last interruption. * * *

(30.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, January 12, 1660.

The debates of the parliament during the last few days do not furnish matter for a long narrative: it has been occupied chiefly with the act of oblivion, and with the organization of the Council of State which, like the preceding one, is composed of twenty-one deputies, among whom Sir Harry Vane is not included, and ten others; the remaining resolutions authorize all that have been done during the interruption by Monk and the others, manifest gratitude for their services, and give power to the directors of the army to appoint officers. A new form of oath has also been projected, and a deputation has been sent to the Guildhall to persuade the citizens not to alter the course of conduct they have pursued in all previous years. The commissioners who were sent the day before yesterday received a very vague answer, and there still appears a great disposition on the part of the common council to insist upon the readmission of the members excluded in 1648. Although the requisition to this effect, which was to be presented to parliament, has been suppressed, it has been only in order not to recognize its authority; and instead of sending him an address, an express has been despatched to Monk to invite him in the name of the city, to defend the same cause. But after the declaration which he has lately again renewed of his obedience to the parliament, and the oath which his troops have taken against the royal family, it is not to be expected that this general will support the wishes of the people; it is rather from Lambert that the evil is likely to come. The news from the Scottish frontier is that, having been informed of the revolution which has taken place in London, he made his troops determine to go thither, and set out on his march immediately with his cavalry and all his infantry for whom he could find horses; that a portion of the remainder has been left at Newcastle, or its neighbourhood, and that he has given

liberty to withdraw to all who were not willing to follow him before they knew what was passing in London. The same leader had sent some troops to York, and others against General Fairfax, around whom a number of gentlemen had gathered, but who immediately retired; but some accounts assure us that they have reassembled, and even that that brigade of the Irish army which had deserted Lambert had offered their services to Fairfax, if he would declare in favour of a free parliament, and that he is now at their head. Reports about Monk are very contradictory, and some say that he is on the march hither to defend the parliament; but in all probability the preservation of Scotland will have appeared to him of too much importance to be neglected in such a doubtful conjuncture as this, which has encouraged the town of Exeter to expel its garrison. Public rumours affirm that other towns have followed this example, and that in some counties mobs have gathered together under the pretext of having a free parliament. I nevertheless know of nothing very certain, except the march of Lambert, who aims at strengthening himself with the sectaries, who are dissatisfied with the parliament, the condition of which is rather precarious; having no longer their support, and the Presbyterians being so hostile to it, it will be indispensable for it to make an accommodation with one or the other party; and if the latter will enter into an arrangement against the royal family, the doors of parliament will be opened to them. As this news only arrived this afternoon, it cannot yet be foreseen what resolutions it will produce; but a few days will clear up these uncertainties. * * *

(31.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD. London, January 15, 1660.

IT will not be without some surprise that your Eminence will learn the great change which has taken place here since my last. If its contents led you to apprehend that England would relapse into a civil war, my news of to-day will produce other feelings, and you will judge from it that we shall soon behold the entire re-establishment of public tranquillity. The day before yesterday conversation ran extremely upon the approach of Lambert with four thousand horse, upon the letters he has written to some sectaries, whose interest he professed to support, and upon the disposition of the city of London to favour him. Letters from the northern counties, moreover, assured

us that General Fairfax was in arms at the head of all the nobility of the country, and of a brigade which had deserted from the army under Lambert's command; it was also very certain that many very considerable towns had expelled their garrisons and declared for a free parliament. The city of London threatened, on its side, to take some very bold resolution, if the excluded members were not readmitted, and it has not yet consented to recognize the authority of the parliament. I know even that of late many assemblies of the principal noblemen and Presbyterians have been held, and that they have spoken of nothing but the conditions upon which the king should be recalled, flattering themselves that the different parties could no longer come to a reconciliation, that the weakest would be constrained to join them, and that the people having so strong a disposition to return to a monarchical government, the parliament would not be able to prevent it. But, contrary to all these appearances, there arrived yesterday evening intelligence that Lambert had submitted to the parliament, and had already retired with some of his friends, perceiving that his troops wished to prevent him. At the same time, there arrived assurances that Fairfax had returned to his house, and had no other intention but to oppose the violence committed by the army in his county, and to support the interests of the parliament. All the towns which were thought to be in insurrection have made similar declarations, and there does not now appear to be any body in the army or among the people, who do not profess entire obedience to the parliament, except the council of the citizens of London, which is composed of royalists, who had flattered themselves up to this hour that they could have their own way so long as the divisions continued in the army. As these measures are proved to be without foundation, the citizens of their own accord, or by force, will follow the example of the rest of the country, and not suffer their dissatisfaction to break out, unless some more favourable conjuncture presents itself for executing their designs, which they would cover with the pretext of public liberty, wounded by the exclusion of the majority of the members of parliament by the minority, which has now the good fortune to behold all its enemies vanquished and their army in subjection; the glory of which is chiefly attributed to the firmness of General Monk in supporting their interest. His friends here affirm that he has greatly contri-

buted by his intrigues to withdraw the troops from Lambert, and that he has no less a share in the reduction of the Irish army. In gratitude for these services, there has been forwarded to him the commission of Lieutenant-General of all the forces of the republic, with very ample authority, and he is now the most powerful subject in the whole nation. Fleetwood, Desborough, and all the others of the same faction are entirely out of employment, and it was only with some trouble that they were comprehended in the act of indemnity passed by parliament on the first day of this week. Lambert has not been excepted from it, provided that he submits within nine days; and an express had been despatched to inform him of this. His fall entails that of Vane, and there has been some talk during the last few days, of putting him in the Tower, it having been discovered by one of his intercepted letters that they kept up an extensive correspondence. The Protector's family also is entirely cast down by this change, not one of them remaining in authority. Those who possess it are not men of great name, nor are they sufficiently moderate to preserve themselves from all the dangers to which vengeance, passion, violence, and private interests will expose them. Moreover, they do not act with all that unanimity which is necessary, and on the day before yesterday, the principal of them indulged in such very bitter language on the subject of the oath against the royal family, that the Speaker threatened to leave his chair. On the same day it was enacted that the places of the definitive deputies should be filled up by new elections, and Mr. Lockhart's letter was read; but although it was submissive to excess, and expressed extraordinary joy at the return of the parliament, thanks were ordered only to the soldiers and officers of the garrison, without mentioning the government which Fleetwood, Desborough, and Vane, had maintained. Yesterday's session was spent in devotions, and to-day the act of abjuration of the royal family was passed, as well as the re-exclusion of the members excluded in 1648. These questions would not have been decided so speedily, but for the reunion of the troops; and the recommendations of the common council would have met with greater attention than they have now experienced; it had resolved upon arming its militia, but this warmth will soon cool down. * * *

(32.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, January 26, 1660.

I did not do myself the honour to write to your Eminence by the preceding post, because I had nothing of importance to communicate; this barrenness of news will continue until the arrival of General Monk, who still pursues his march towards London with five or six thousand men of the Scottish army, and will probably arrive here about the end of the week. All parties now cast their eyes upon him, and each fancies that he is favourable to it; to which his answer to the city has not slightly contributed; he approves and praises its conduct of late, and the declarations that it has made in favour of a free parliament. But he also professes to hold his commission from the parliament, and to desire to support liberty of conscience and a free republic, deferring further explanations until after his arrival in London. The perusal of this letter in the common-council was not followed by any debate, because they had not been able to discover what his sentiments were, and there was no room for taking any decided measures without his assistance. At the same time the parliament received a copy, not only of his letter to the city, but of the answer thereto, by the hands of a messenger whom General Monk despatched express. Thus, up to this time, he has kept on good terms with both these bodies, and the parliament does not manifest less impatience in expecting him than the city; it has even been determined to-day, that two of the members should go to meet him, and invite him to hasten his march, and that an annuity of one thousand pounds sterling should be given him in landed property, as a mark of gratitude for his services. Moreover, all possible complacency is shown to him by authorizing the changes he has made in the army and the establishments in Scotland, where Major-General Morgan commands the troops which he has left here, and a brigade of those from Ireland, which had at first deserted Lambert. Nevertheless, whatever caresses are lavished on him, it is certain that his credit excites great jealousy and that the republicans will give him, if they can, coadjutors in the command of the army, so as to weaken his authority, which they think is incompatible with the safety of their government; this may, perhaps, produce some discontent, upon which the city and the royalists partly found their hopes. The Presbyterians excluded from

the parliament also think him disposed to restore them, and to favour the design which they have of recalling the king of England, upon conditions which will not destroy the liberty of the people of England; and I see that very enlightened persons hold these sentiments, which he will be moreover led to embrace, however little he may be inclined to do so, by the great divisions by which the parliament is now agitated. Never has the misunderstanding been greater between the few deputies of whom it is composed; and the expulsion of Sir Harry Vane, which it was thought would unite all minds, has only served to bring new factions to light. Sir Arthur Haslerig, who had greatly distinguished himself of late, and had appeared to be opposed to the sectaries, declared for them when the presbyterian faction wished to expel other deputies of Vane's party; and their mutual jealousies have risen so high, that they accuse each other of wishing to recall the king of England. This suspicion seems to have more foundation in the case of the Presbyterians, and they would otherwise have slight reason for discontenting the sectarians, the staunchest supporters of the parliament, at a time when they are offending the people by the exclusion of the members expelled in 1648. There is much talk of filling up their places by new elections, and this would be giving some satisfaction to the people; but as there would be great difficulty in disposing them to depute persons well-affectioned towards the republic, and the number of the new comers would be greater by far than that of the members now sitting, it is not presumable that their design is to fill the parliament, unless they wish to favour the return of the king. The great opposition of some to the abjuration of the royal family, also augments all these distrusts, and now it is proposed to take an engagement in more moderate terms: some wish to reject it entirely, and the retirement of the Speaker of the parliament for some days, under the pretext of indisposition, is considered a prognostic of some storm, it being certain that he has intimate relations with Monk. These are the reflections of this time, their correctness will be ascertained in a few days. Meanwhile the course of affairs is arrested, and all that parliament did, last week, was to fill up those places in the army which had become vacant by the dismissal of a number of officers, to disband the regiments of Vane and the sectaries, to give orders for the payment

of the other troops, and to direct the Council to make sure of those colonels who, eight days ago, were sentenced to confinement in their own houses, for being most of them, and among others Lambert, suspected of not having obeyed orders, and of caballing in the city. * * *

(33.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, February 2, 1660.

The letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 14th of last month, permits me only to continue my narration of what comes to my knowledge of the affairs of England, and I cannot better discharge this duty than by representing them in the same state which I described in my preceding letter. General Monk not having yet arrived, and his conduct continuing to keep up the hopes of all parties, the commissioners of the parliament set out at the commencement of last week, to convey to him the compliments and reward which have been assigned to him. London, a few days afterwards, followed this example, and deputed three citizens to congratulate him on his journey. The excluded members of parliament have also sent to him one of their number. The nobility of the country through which he passes, do not fail to do him all honour. The towns receive him with ringing of bells, and the people convey to him their complaints. He treats every one with great civility, discloses his feelings to none, and, whilst he is conferring appointments on persons suspected by the parliament, he assures it of his fidelity. The letters which have been received to-day, are again in these terms; they give no reason to expect him until the end of the week, with his army of four thousand infantry, in four regiments, and three of cavalry of about sixteen hundred men, the rest having returned to Scotland. This force would not be sufficient to overthrow the government, if he were not seconded by the city of London, the council of which persists in its refusal to recognize the parliament, and in desiring that the excluded members may be readmitted, or that another parliament shall be called. The city of Exeter, one of the most important in England, together with the county of which it is the capital, have declared themselves to hold the same opinions, and have sent a deputy to communicate their request to the Speaker of the parliament. Other counties have treated it

with still greater contempt, addressing their communications to the mayor of London; and there is a general disposition to prevent the government from consolidating its authority; it therefore professes to have no intention to perpetuate itself, but to form a perfect republic, the conduct of which shall be left to successive parliaments; and of late it has employed itself in drawing up a declaration which shall disabuse the people of the impressions which have been given it, in order to render it favourable to the return of the king. In addition to this precaution, a great part of the army has been posted in the city and its suburbs; and as evil can arise only from discontent among the troops, care is taken to satisfy them by promises of speedy payment, and by gratuities to the leaders. Admiral Lawson is to have an annuity of 500*l.* sterling, in landed property. His officers had an idea of presenting a request on behalf of Sir Harry Vane, but their warmth produced no result, and the parliament continues to seek out and punish other members of the same faction. One, a colonel and the governor of the Isle of Wight, has been deprived of his regiment; and another has been suspended and sent to the Tower of London. Parliament has also received the accusation brought by the officers of the Irish armies against the commissioners who governed it during the interregnum, and against General Ludlow, their leader, who had been detained here during that time, because he appeared too much attached to the parliament, and who, a few days before its re-establishment, had returned to his post; but, not having been acknowledged, had retired into one of the fortresses of the country, along with some sectaries. He has been directed, as well as all the other accused persons, to come and give an account of his actions; and, as peace now prevails, they will not be in a position to disobey this order. Other commissioners have been sent in their stead, and parliament provided, last week, for all the principal posts in connexion with the administration of justice in England, without exacting any particular oath. It also made Mr. Scott a Secretary of State, and filled up the places of the cashiered officers, giving regiments to some of their supporters who have never seen any service. These are, as nearly as I can tell, the doings of last week, at the end of which the old Speaker resumed his chair, from which some draw inferences in favour of the parliament. Others

assert that a great number of its members are well-disposed towards the king, that they encourage the disobedience of the city, and only await Monk's arrival to declare themselves, as they think he will not fail to pay attention to the wishes of the whole nation, the great advantages which he will gain from it, the small amount of intelligence and stability displayed by the present government, its jealousies, and the bad fortune of all the generals who have served it. But, although all these considerations are weighty, we may, nevertheless, doubt whether they will make much impression upon a man of compact mind, who prides himself upon his great sincerity and firmness of purpose, who is moreover a republican, and whose conduct in domestic matters gives no great promise. It is not certain also whether his troops are entirely devoted to him; and if the royalists have made any arrangements with him, they are very secret, as he passes for impregnable among most of them, whom he has not yet made terms with. As the destiny of England partly depends upon his resolution, and as he himself may not yet have come to any determination, no solid judgment can be formed upon affairs here until we have a clearer insight into his views, and I should not deserve the confidence which your Eminence shows that you place in my opinion if, on the eve of so great a crisis, and at a time when those most passionately attached or opposed to the government, are not less agitated by hope and fear, I should presume to foretell the future. * * *

(34.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, February 9, 1660.

The last letter which I did myself the honour to write to your Eminence, informed you that the hopes of all parties in England were based upon General Monk, and that all were impatiently awaiting his arrival. He has not yet reached London, and will not arrive here for three days, during which his troops will refresh themselves in the environs. But his views have already been ascertained by the reception which he gave to the deputies from this city, and from many of the counties. He received the first in presence of the commissioners of the parliament, and replied to their compliments by demonstrations of astonishment that he should be thought capable of being unfaithful to the authorities from whom he held his commission, exhorted them to submit, and not inter-

fere with the measures which it would take to restore tranquillity to the nation under a suitable form of government, but rather to second its good intentions by their prayers, and meanwhile to have patience, the only services which the parliament desired of the town. He spoke with still greater sharpness to the other deputies who came to request him, on the part of the nobility of different counties, to support the readmission of the excluded members without their taking any oath, or the convocation of a free parliament. After having blamed their impatience and the demand which they made, after the parliament had rejected it, he also gave them to understand that it was not the custom to allow any deputy to take his seat in such an assembly, before he had entered into some obligation; he represented to them that the present parliament was the freest that had ever been seen in England; saying that it would fill up the vacant places as soon as they should have decided upon the qualifications necessary to prevent the ruin of a cause for which they had fought so long; that, finally, they must submit to the present government, and that he was bound to defend it. Besides these verbal declarations, he has made a similar one in writing, in the form of a letter addressed to his own county, the nobility of which had adopted the same opinions as the city of London; he therein expressed at some length the reasons which oppose the return of the royal family, and which ought to dispose the whole nation to choose in preference a republican government. The parliament received the news on the 5th instant, together with letters, both from its own deputies and from the said General Monk, full of assurances of his fidelity, in gratitude for which, the general's commission, which had been given him during the interregnum by the Council of State, was approved. The post of Master of the Rolls of his country was given him, and an act of approbation of all that he had done was read for the first time. From this time forth also there began to appear a great change in the disposition of the minds of this assembly, it being even resolved immediately to levy a tax of one hundred thousand pounds sterling per month; and search was afterwards made, in the houses of some citizens, for the money which is said to be intended for the king of England. A considerable sum was, in fact, found in the house of one very royalist merchant, but it is claimed by several individuals.

It is also now proposed to dissolve the common council, and to compel the city to yield that obedience which it has up to this hour refused. If, on the one side, their boldness has increased, that of the people is not the less diminished, nor do the royalists appear less downcast; their only resource is now in the general discontent of all the nobility, who are beginning to assemble in different quarters. It is not, moreover, to be presumed that the army will always remain in such complete dependance upon the civil power; and, although just now the condition of the government appears advantageous, though the troops are under no apprehension with regard to the return of the king, and though this fear may be strong enough to keep them united, nevertheless, I cannot but concur in the opinion of those who think that there is yet much progress to be made before the parliament will be consolidated, seeing the general alienation of all the people, and the jealousies which some of the deputies were not able to dissimulate to-day, when it was proposed to withdraw the troops from the town to make way for those from Scotland, according to Monk's desire, which has been complied with. This request has reawakened some hopes and doubts, and it may safely be stated that the least discontent of the army, or assistance from without, would destroy all the existing establishments, unless the people were to change their humour. In order to recover them from the great aversion which they appear to feel, the parliament decreed and published, at the commencement of last week, a declaration in which it professes its desire to establish a free government, without king or lords, under the direction of the parliament; and to form an army in such a manner that, so long as it shall be necessary to the safety of the republic, it shall obey the civil authority; that all questions and proceedings concerning the lives, liberties, and conditions of the people, shall be regulated according to the laws of the country, and that the parliament shall not meddle either with the ordinary administration, or with the execution of the laws; that provision shall be made for the maintenance of the ministers, that the tithes shall be continued to them as the most convenient method of supporting them, and that provision shall also be made for liberty of conscience in matters of religion, in conformity with the word of God; that the universities shall be kept up, even with an augmentation of their privileges, if it is necessary:

that the parliament shall turn its attention to means for restoring and increasing commerce, and that, finally, it shall seek some method of relieving the people as quickly as possible from the heavy taxes with which they were burdened by the bad councils and conduct of preceding governments. The other debates of this week are of less importance, and I may merely remark, that two gentlemen who had presented a species of declaration in favour of a free parliament, from one of the counties of England, were sent to the Tower of London, not so much because of the contents of this document, as of the address made to the Speaker of the parliament, and the gentlemen sitting at Westminster. This treatment has not prevented other gentlemen from undertaking similar commissions, and presenting to the Speaker, on the day before yesterday, a request in the same style. A debate again took place on the qualifications for the contemplated elections, but no decision was arrived at, and parliament has been employed in granting commissions, both to civil and military officers; and a committee of twenty-one persons has been appointed to administer the affairs of the navy, the commander of which has gone with a large number of his officers to meet Monk, who has, upon his march, obtained a very express declaration from the governor of Hull; after which there remain in England no troops, or garrisons to be reduced to obedience to the parliament, any more than in Scotland and Ireland. * * *

(35.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, February 16, 1660.

THE last posts having brought me no letter from your Eminence, and as I have no other orders to execute, I have only to inform you of what took place at the audience which the council of state granted me last week, and of the internal affairs of England. The duplicate of my despatch to M. de Brienne will acquit me of this duty; and I have nothing to add thereto, except that the Scottish general has declared again to-day in parliament that he would remain constant to its interests, and that he is reputed to be entirely opposed to the interests of the king of England, although he refuses to take any particular engagement against his whole family. The Presbyterian faction of this same assembly holds similar opinions; and finding itself sustained by the army, it will

prevail over the sectaries, who remain few in number. The great business of the present moment is to fill up the vacant places by persons well-affectioned to the present government; and it is not easy to succeed in this, whatever precautions they may take, for the people are so alienated. Moreover, these new elections cannot long be deferred without great inconvenience, as the counties declare that they will pay no more until the parliament is free and complete, and the soldiers are beginning to lose patience. Those whom the Scottish general forced to withdraw from London appeared greatly discontented, and the 600 men who were ordered to proceed to Dunkirk were still more violent in their mutiny, in which their officers joined. The colonel having had some difficulty in preserving his life, it is proposed to decimate them. Mr. Lockhart is expected here this week, and it is contemplated to send him, or some one else, to France; but the government must be delivered from its present embarrassment before it can attend to any affairs abroad. * * *

(36.)—M. de Bourdeaux to M. de Brienne.

My Lord, London, February 17, 1660.

* * * The heads of the English government declare that they will not support the interests of Portugal, and that it is necessary to make peace with Spain, in order to restore the commerce of England, the ruin of which is alienating the affection of the people. They are in fact necessitated to leave no means untried to overcome the aversion of the nation; and it is upon good grounds that the officers of the English army represent it to be so general. But it does not follow that a slight support from abroad would be able to restore the monarchy, there being little vigour among the nobility, and less disposition in the large towns to run any risk, since they have not availed themselves of the opportunities presented to them by the recent divisions; they confine their opposition to starving the army, by refusing to pay the taxes, and declare that the declarations of all the counties in favour of a free parliament will be followed by a resolution to close their purses, until their wishes have been complied with. But the sword usually can produce gold; and if the army remains united, the people will find it difficult to avoid supporting it. The orders for the levy of the taxes are therefore addressed to the troops quartered in the counties; and as their interest is

concerned, they will not fail to carry them into thorough execution. The hopes which were still entertained of Monk are daily proved to have been unfounded by the declarations which he continued to make to numbers of deputies from the provinces before he reached London. He arrived here on the morning of the 13th, at the head of his troops, having been sent for on the preceding night in great haste, because the infantry which was in the city had mutinied, and part had installed themselves in Somerset House, after having driven away their officers; they would not go to the quarters which had been assigned them until they were paid, and the soldiers declared themselves ready to serve any one who would pay them, making mention of a free parliament and of Lambert. Neither remonstrances nor the arrival of some cavalry were able either to persuade or intimidate them: and it not being considered advisable to proceed to extremities, the council made all haste to give them a month's pay, which pacified them. Those at Somerset House did not leave their post until they saw Monk, and remained all night under arms. Propositions were meanwhile made to them in the name of the city, which they refused to believe; and some apprentices taking advantage of the opportunity, assembled in considerable numbers; but the mayor having given information of this, the cavalry marched against them, dispersed them without much resistance, and took fifty prisoners. The remainder of the night was spent in continual alarms; and the evil would have been very great but for the neighbourhood of the Scottish army, which deprived of courage those who are believed to have excited this mutiny, which produced consequences at Gravesend, the few men who were sent to recruit the garrison of Dunkirk having on the next day revolted against their officers, and even wished to force their colonel. They also sent a deputation of two soldiers to Monk, who represented to him the injustice done them by sending them out of England unpaid; he exhorted them to return to their duty, and some squadrons of cavalry forthwith marched against them to compel them to do so, and succeeded without bloodshed. But it is proposed to punish the most factious of the three hundred who have been arrested, and to cashier all those who joined in the insurrection at London. The whole army would incur the same fate if means were not taken to appease these discontents, which have been greatly increased by the order which Monk sent to the troops

in London to withdraw. The parliament did not wish to oppose him, although this arrangement was considered rather arbitrary. Nothing remarkable took place on the entry of this general, except that the Speaker, who thought that he would alight at his house, left the company to go to receive him, and having met him on his road, the one got out of his carriage, and the other off his horse, and they paid each other great civilities; after which the general continued his march as far as Whitehall, where the members of parliament presented him a complimentary address. The day after his arrival he again made in their presence a solemn declaration of his active and passive obedience, offering even to resign his commission if it should be judged necessary for the welfare of the republic, and only excepting from this great obedience submission to a monarchical government. He was to-day conducted into this assembly by two of the members, his soldiers lining the court-yard and hall of Westminster; and he gave an account of his journey, represented the general desire of the people for a free parliament without any oath, explained himself against that which had been proposed to him, and besought aid for Scotland and Ireland, which he represented as very poor. His wishes were accompanied by so much submission that the parliament was greatly satisfied with him, and bestowed upon him more honours than have been granted to any other subject in the nation. Nevertheless, his appointment as general is not well established, and it is affirmed that it ceased on the day of his arrival in London; that now he is only one of the commissaries-general of the army, and that he can take no important step without the consent of his colleagues. But if he shares this title with them, his power is very different, as the troops recognize him as their only leader, and all parties look upon him as the man upon whom depends the establishment or the ruin of the government; consequently, he has not time enough to receive all the visits that are paid him. The ambassadors were not the last to seek him out. The envoy from Holland sent his son to compliment him upon his campaign, and the Portuguese minister requested an audience. I made no such haste, not judging it compatible with my dignity. But the correspondence which has taken place between him and myself, on some matters of business, gave me an excuse for calling on him to-day. During the last few days the parliament has been chiefly occupied in settling

the qualifications for the new elections, which it can no longer defer, whatever danger may arise from filling up the vacant seats, as the people are so badly disposed towards it; it has also given some commissions in the army, received with thanks a declaration from the seamen, given orders for the recovery of the money which certain individuals, under different pretexts, received from the state during the last interregnum, and restored that which had been seized because it was supposed to be intended for the king of England. For want of proofs, it has deputed the Council of State to examine into the tumult which has just occurred in London; and General Ludlow, who was in Ireland, has arrived to give an account of his actions. I am, &c.

(37.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, February 19, 1660.

It seemed probable that the declarations made by General Monk, before and after his arrival in London, would produce some effect in that city and in the country to the advantage of the parliament, and during some days there appeared to be considerable despondency; nevertheless, the objections raised by the general against taking a special oath against the royal family having occasioned some to declare that he was inclined to embrace the royal cause, and disposed others to take confidence, the town council yesterday made no difficulty about receiving a deputation from one of the English counties, who came to offer their assistance in obtaining the convocation of a free parliament. It was also debated whether the city should pay the taxes ordered by the parliament, and the majority of votes seemed to be opposed to doing so. The mayor, who held more moderate views, was hard pressed by some citizens who talked of nothing but shedding the last drop of their blood in defence of the liberties of the whole nation and of the city. The Council of State, foreseeing that longer toleration would end in destroying the authority of the government, and that every other community would follow this bad example, judged it necessary at once to disperse this faction, and destroy the hopes which it centred on Monk, by the orders which he executed this morning. At break of day he entered the city at the head of all his troops, posted them in the streets and at the gates, and then removed all the chains and posts from the streets; seized six of the most

eminent citizens, and sent them to the Tower of London; some others fled. He also sent for the record of the deliberations of the common council, and ordered the town-clerk to present it to the parliament to-morrow; summoned the mayor and aldermen, and desired them to tell him precisely whether the city would pay the taxes or not; upon which no answer was given him, it being postponed until the council shall have met, which will be to-morrow. Meanwhile the troops remain in the same posts, and the general at an inn near the Guildhall. The parliament has authorized all these proceedings; and it is believed that, in order to make sure of the town, some other measures will be taken, as no good can be expected from it so long as it is governed by those who are now in office. The mayor and aldermen alone are well-intentioned; the others are entirely opposed to the parliament and devotedly attached to royalty. The tranquillity with which the action of to-day took place leaves no room to doubt that the people will suffer all establishments which may be considered necessary. They beheld without murmuring, and in great crowds, the removal of their chains and the imprisonment of the citizens, and the mildness with which General Monk spoke kept them still in some hope that he will contribute to their design of having a free parliament, without the deputies being obliged to enter into any engagement before admission. Orders have been issued for the arrest of twenty-six deputies from the provinces, and the government is persuaded that fear alone can prevent them from combining against the existing authorities. The town of Bristol, one of the most wealthy and populous in England, revolted under the same pretext; but the magistrates and leading citizens succeeded in appeasing the populace. Gloucester also has been rather agitated. The parliament has not yet decided upon the qualifications for the new elections, and great inconveniences are found to exist, whatever precautions they may take against having republican deputies, since the people are so badly intentioned. * * *

(38.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, February 22, 1660.

I send the present letter by an express courier, foreseeing that the post will be stopped, and it might be somewhat prejudicial, in the present conjuncture, if your Eminence were not promptly acquainted with what is taking place here

in London. My letter of the 19th of this month informed you that the debates in the common council had obliged the Council of State to send General Monk, with all his troops, into the city, and that he had committed six citizens to the Tower, removed the chains, and urged the payment of the taxes: he was also ordered to break down the gates; but, upon being besought by the mayor not to commit such a violence, he undertook to intercede with the parliament; and, in fact, in the same letter in which he reported the performance of all his orders, he represented that it would be proceeding to too great extremities, and that the most respectable inhabitants of the city appeared quite disposed to submit. Instead of paying attention to his remonstrance, the parliament, without further delay, dissolved the common council, and directed the general, in rather harsh terms, to do what he was ordered. He obeyed, the next morning, and had some gates burned, without opposition by the people. He again sent to the mayor and citizens, in order to obtain some money from them; but some declared that they had no power to determine upon anything without the concurrence of the common council, and others answered that they would rather consent to the pillage of their houses than to a tax, unless it were levied by order of a free parliament. Having been unable to gain anything, either by threats or persuasion, the general returned to Whitehall on the afternoon of the 20th, leaving the greater part of his troops in the city, and being much hurt at the bad reception which had been given to his intercession. The enemies of the government did not fail to take advantage of his discontent; and, entirely to alienate him, they suggested to him, by means of some ministers, and other persons who have some credit with him, that the parliament had appointed him to act against the city, in order to render him more odious, and afterwards to destroy him with less trouble; that a resolution had already been taken to deprive him of his commission, as soon as the town was reduced; that Lambert was to be recalled, General Ludlow sent back to take the command in Ireland, and Vane re-established in authority, as the latter had already obtained permission to remain in London, under the pretext of illness, and the prosecutions instituted against the others had been suspended; and that, finally, the sectaries were going to resume the government, since, when they had presented to

parliament a requisition to the effect that no one should be admitted into that assembly, or into any public employment, unless he had taken the oath of abjuration of the royal family, which was refused by the Presbyterians, far from rejecting such a demand, they had received a vote of thanks, from which circumstance he might infer that the request was not disagreeable. Fate, or the design of some members of parliament, determined that on that same day a debate arose, and an act was passed, giving the command of the army to five commissioners, without taking Monk's services into particular consideration, or regarding the rank of commander-in-chief of all the forces of the republic, which had been conferred upon him during the interregnum, and afterwards confirmed, it being presupposed that the said rank came to an end on his arrival in London. This bad treatment, and their just reasons for jealousy, caused his officers to assemble around him on that very evening; and having found them all disposed to follow him, they resolved to repair the injury which they had just done, though with repugnance, to the city, and even to adopt its sentiments, and retire thither, in order to support them with greater security; which was done yesterday, at about eleven o'clock in the morning, the general having left Whitehall at the head of a few companies of cavalry to proceed to the mayor, whom he had shortly beforehand informed, that he might not take the alarm at his return into the city. As he mounted his horse, he dispatched two colonels with a letter to the parliament, in which—after having complained of the orders which he had been obliged to execute, of the measures which were being concerted with the sectaries, of the impunity of Lambert, Ludlow, and Vane, of the little inclination shown by the parliament to fill up the vacant seats, and of the position it has taken to force upon the people an oath against the royal family, which can be taken only by persons accustomed to perjure themselves—he summons them to issue writs, between to-day and Friday, for the election of new deputies in all the counties, without binding them by any fresh oath. . . . . He also desires that this body may not continue its session beyond the 16th of May, and that another free parliament may be convoked for the same time; and, in conclusion, he declares his resolution to wait in the city for an answer. The reading of this despatch caused no little surprise; and it was resolved to send immediately to the

general the same two deputies who had gone to meet him, to endeavour to satisfy him. They found him with the mayor, and expressed to him that the parliament had learned with regret of his discontent, and did not think it had given him any cause; they disavowed the pretended correspondence with the sectaries, Lambert, and the others, and attributed the delay of the proceedings which had commenced against them to the difficulty they would find in convicting them. As to the replacement of the excluded or deceased members, they declared that the parliament warmly desired it, that the writs would even have been issued long before, but for the frequent interruptions occasioned by the general himself; and that, finally, the parliament was disposed to do whatever he and the city and the people might desire, with the single exception of recalling the royal family. It is said that he declared that he was equally opposed to this last step. This conference, however, which took place in the presence of two citizens and one colonel, did not produce a reunion, the general remaining steadfast in his opinions; and the deputies retired, after having ineffectually besought him not to press the parliament so hard, and returned to Westminster in the afternoon, to make their report, upon which a resolution was taken to issue the writs for the elections as speedily as possible. The five commissioners who are to govern the army were next chosen: General Monk is one, and with him are associated Sir Arthur Haslerig, Colonel Morley, the governor of the Tower, and two other colonels. While these deliberations were going on at Westminster, the mayor and aldermen assembled in the Guildhall, whither the general having repaired, the advocate of the army spoke, as much in his name as in that of the other officers, and represented them all to be greatly grieved that they had been obliged to execute such rigorous orders on the two preceding days. He attributed the burning of the gates to Haslerig's soldiers; and declared that the army was resolved to unite with the city in support of the convocation of a free parliament—praying that, meanwhile, it might be furnished with quarters.

This speech was received with extraordinary demonstrations of joy, and offers of their houses and their purses; the troops were then distributed in their quarters, and during the evening the people manifested all imaginable public marks of joy. Never were soldiers so greatly caressed, or so liberally

supplied with drink; bonfires were kept up all night long, in front of most houses, both in Westminster and in the city, and the bells contributed to express the general delight. In some places the king's health was publicly drunk; in others, many things were done in derision of the parliament, and the houses of several sectaries were in danger of being pillaged. This general inclination will doubtless lead to the supposition that the ancient form of government will be restored; and the private statements of persons who take a leading part in Monk's deliberations, give reason to believe that this is his intention, although he professes to be opposed to the monarchy, and that he uses this language through fear of being abandoned by his troops, if, before he had gained them thoroughly over, he should declare for the king. Yesterday's step, in fact, leaves him no other course to take, as he cannot make friends again with the parliament, and as the forces which recognize this general's authority are too weak to maintain him, unless he is supported by London and the nobility, who are entirely bent upon restoring the monarchy. It is true that the majority, among others the Presbyterians, who are now predominant, do not wish the king of England to return unconditionally; being persuaded that, if he returned with unlimited authority, their religion would suffer greatly under the bishops; and that, as the most influential of them contributed to the overthrow of the deceased king, if the hands of the present monarch were not tied, their whole cabal would be exposed to great danger, especially as his ministers are considered to be violent and vindictive. It cannot either be disavowed that some of these very Presbyterians are inclined to a republican government; and that, if they found themselves excluded, the idea might occur to them of gaining the supreme authority, by the assistance of Monk, who is believed to have come to London with the ambition of raising himself to a post similar to that held by the Prince of Orange. These different plans cannot but throw obstacles in the way of the royal family; but as all the people desire their return, and have liberty to choose their deputies, it is not to be supposed that their choice will fall upon persons suspected of holding opposite views. It is even a well-founded opinion that some of the members of the present parliament—among others, the governor of the Tower and the Speaker—foment Monk's jealousies, in order to detach him from the party he had em-

braced. This suspicion is not of recent date; the oath was proposed merely for the purpose of discovering these false brethren; and it is remarked that some of those who have refused to take it have always passed over the establishments of the republic, and kept on good terms with the royalists; and that these are also the least connected with the downfall of the deceased king, and the most wealthy. It does not yet appear what course will be pursued by the others, who cannot expect safety either for their lives or property if the king returns: they have perceived, but too late, the fault they committed in cashiering all the officers of the army, and abandoning the sectaries; and it is not without reason that they are accused of seeking to obtain a reconciliation with both. But they would have great difficulty in doing this now, being in the power of Monk, who will not fail to disperse them, and to substitute in their places the excluded members, whose numbers are three times as great as their own, if he sees troops approaching to their assistance; moreover, the people hold them in such great aversion, that, if they were once driven from Westminster, they would never return thither, unless they could conquer England. Thus their sole hope seems still to be Monk; and therefore they continue to humour him, through fear lest, raising the mask, he should summon back the king without waiting for a parliament, being persuaded that, when the parliament is assembled, they will be able to form factions to thwart the royalists, and, in time, to gain over the troops, who clearly see that they will fall with the republic, as the people desire the king, but no army; and that, in any case, they will be able to call back the king upon certain conditions, and thus provide for their own safety. I am not sufficiently well informed of his Majesty's intentions, to take much share in these domestic conflicts; nevertheless, according to the course which they take, I will do my best to secure his interests, which can be no other than to forward, in some manner, the return of the king of England, if it is inevitable, and I shall have sufficient facilities to insinuate to General Monk that which will probably be desired of him. Your Eminence will, if you please, let me know; and will consider that the election of the new deputies will require some time, and that affairs here might take such a course, that their assemblage may be prevented by some other change. If anything of importance occurs to-

morrow, I will write it by the post. Meanwhile, it only remains for me to subscribe myself, &c.

(39.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, February 26, 1660.

The letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 3rd instant, directed me to inform you, with all possible exactitude, of what is taking place in England; I will not allow to-day's post to leave without executing this order, although I can as yet give no positive information. The parliament has continued to humour General Monk in all sorts of ways; and during the early part of the present week, it recommenced prosecuting those who excited his jealousy, ordering Sir Harry Vane to leave the city, and publishing a proclamation commanding Lambert to present himself before them within three days, on pain of confiscation of all his property; it also fixed a day for hearing those members of parliament who acted during the late interruption, and gave orders for the payment of the troops which have come from Scotland. The same and following days were employed in settling the qualifications for the ensuing elections; and the abjuration of the royal family, which some wished to render essential, has been changed into a simple promise to be faithful to the republic of England, and to its government in the form of a free state, without any single person as king, and without any House of Lords. The other restrictions are very inconsiderable, although very numerous, and this business is to be terminated to-day, in order that the writs may be issued by the end of the week, according to the desire of the general, in conformity with which declarations have arrived from different counties, and among others, from Yorkshire, where General Fairfax and all the nobility have entered into an engagement not to pay any tax, until the excluded members of the parliament are readmitted, or another free parliament is called. Although the latter course seems to be more agreeable, there have been some overtures of accommodation with the excluded members, and it is said, that ten of each party are to meet for conference this evening. If the excluded members were to take the oath in its original terms, and would bind themselves not to interfere with any acts passed since the year 1648, they would surmount the chief obstacles to their restoration, and,

in this case, it would not be proposed to summon another parliament so soon. These propositions do not satisfy the royalists, and they are beginning to doubt the intentions of General Monk, since he has forbidden the town council to meet, and to arm the militia before the parliament has finished its deliberations upon the convocation of the deputies, and has, as it were, approved of the engagement against a royal government, which was communicated to him before it was adopted, and against which he made no other objection, than that the words *in the presence of God*, should be left out, and they were accordingly omitted. This conduct still keeps men's minds in suspense, and some believe him to be a republican, and that he will not favour any other form of government, that he would not even have taken this last step if the parliament would have given him some prerogative over the other four commissioners appointed to govern the army, according to the opinion of some deputies of this assembly who wished to render it necessary; and that he is on the eve of quitting the city, notwithstanding the caresses it has lavished upon him, and the money it has given to his troops, and of entering into the Council of State with all those whom the abjuration prevented from taking their places. Others still persuade themselves that his real feelings are in favour of a free parliament, and that whatever oath the deputies may take, he will recall the king, to whom he gave assurances of support, both before his departure from Scotland, and since his arrival in London, and that henceforward he cannot be in safety with the parliament. Both these opinions have some foundation, and it appears that this general has kept up the hopes of all parties in order to place himself in a position to support that one from which he would derive most advantage, but that in reality, his primary aim has been to consolidate the republic, and make himself its general; that such alluring conditions may have been offered him of late, that he has returned to his first opinions, and will think that he has done his duty to the city and the whole nation in reference to the promise which he made them to act in concert with them so as to obtain a free parliament, by obliging the present to fill up the vacant seats, although it may be with an oath contrary to the desires of all the people of England, which will not be without effect if the armies are united to enforce its observ-

ance. We must wait a few days more before forming a decisive opinion. The Scotch have sent six deputies, with the Earl of Glencairn at their head, to watch over the interests of their nation here, and this deputation is considered to be a consequence of the fair words spoken to them by Monk. Mr. Lockhart has been in London for some days, but I have not yet seen him; his arrival and the embarrassments of the country have caused me up to the present time to postpone speaking to the Council of State about the differences which have arisen between the garrisons of Dunkirk and Calais. As the important business now under discussion is to be brought to an end to-morrow, there will soon be an opportunity for treating of other affairs; and I am consequently urged by the Swedish ministers to press the despatch of fresh orders to the British plenipotentiaries in Zealand. I have been informed that General Lambert sent to tell General Monk that, in order to heal the jealousies which his presence excites, he would enter into the service of the king of Sweden, if the parliament would give him liberty to do so and to take with him those soldiers who would be willing to follow him. This offer may, probably, be accepted, at least as far as concerns himself. I am, &c.

(40.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, March 1, 1660.

I shall not write to-day more positively of the affairs of this country than I did in my preceding letter, but, on the last day of last week, the parliament concluded its debates upon the elections, warned the people, under very severe penalties, not to give their votes unless they had all the requisite qualifications, and reserved to itself the power to decide in doubtful cases; there has also taken place, in presence of General Monk, a conference between the excluded and actual members, without their coming to any resolution, the latter having offered to admit the former if they would take the oath against royalty, and these having refused to do so, not so much from conscientious scruples, as from fear of losing their credit. This negociation is not yet broken off, and there still remains hope of an accommodation upon conditions that will secure one party without pledging the others to any form of government, although up to the present time General Monk has professed that he desires a republic, and

most of his officers are of the same opinion. Meanwhile, the issue of the writs for the election is delayed. As it is of importance that the bailiffs who assemble the people and preside over them should be well-intentioned, the parliament has, according to custom, renewed the commissioners and appointed persons on whom it can rely. These are the principal occurrences of the last few days. Nothing of importance has taken place in the city, except that the Council of State having invited the general to come and take his seat to advise with them on the means of preserving Dunkirk, presupposing that the Spaniards were preparing to attack it, and Mr. Lockhart having come expressly to give his advice, the mayor and alderman begged the general not to leave the city or withdraw his soldiers, until some arrangement had been made for the safety of the town, which he promised he would do; and under this pretext he refused to go to the Council, but gave them to understand, that whatever might be the division of England, it would always be sufficiently at union to preserve the place, even if a hundred-and-fifty thousand men should attack it. I have been informed, that, in order to please the city still more, he has represented to parliament that peace with Spain is necessary. The provinces still profess to desire a free parliament, and the bonfires which were made in London, have caused others to be made in several towns, where there even occurred some tumult, to repress which Monk sent orders; from which we may conclude that the fate of the nation is now in his hands, as all parties caress him and do all in their power to gain him over to their side. Lambert even has addressed himself to him to obtain a mitigation of his prosecution by the parliament, and his recommendation produced an immediate effect. It is said that this great complaisance does not prevent them from taking underhand measures with the sectaries, and that a plan has been formed to place Lambert at their head, if Monk declares for the King; but the object of their efforts, would, in this case, be rather uncertain, as the nation is so disposed to favour his return. * * *

(41.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, March 2, 1660.

I send an express after yesterday's post to inform your Eminence that this morning, General Monk restored the old

members, having first agreed with them that they shall sit only for four days, during which they shall despatch writs into the provinces to cause the election of a new parliament, excepting only royalists and sectaries, and without binding them by any oath: all the troops are also to be disbanded, with the exception of those under General Monk, and the militia will be intrusted to the hands of the gentlemen of the country. A new Council of State will be elected, and all that has been done by the parliament since 1648 will be ratified. Besides these conditions, a promise has been made to Monk to constitute him General of all the forces in England, Scotland, and Ireland. I postpone until Thursday's post such particulars of this important change as may come to my knowledge; for I have now only time to subscribe myself with respect, &c.

(42.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, March 4, 1660.

The letter which I wrote to your Eminence on the day before yesterday, arrived at Dover in time enough to be taken by the post of the 1st of this month, and will already have informed you that General Monk has restored the members of parliament who were excluded in 1648, and of the principal conditions agreed on between them. This change, very important when we consider the consequences it may entail, took place without any opposition or ceremony whatever, and with such secresy that, although it had been concerted with many persons on the 1st of this month, when the general returned, on the next day morning, from the City to Whitehall with most of his troops, Sir Arthur Haslerig and those of his faction went immediately to visit him, being persuaded that he had returned with the intention of remaining steadfast in their interests. He disabused them, and, after having communicated to them his resolution, invited them to continue their session, professing that he still held the same views with regard to the form of the government; which occasioned them urgently to request that he would at least oblige these members to take that oath against the monarchy which he himself seemed to have approved. He declined to do so, saying that it was an act of useless circumspection, as it had appeared to him that most of them were well-intentioned towards the republic. They were obliged to be satisfied with this answer,

and just at that time, the excluded members having come to wait upon the general, he told them that his cares had not been able to arrest the course of the divisions which existed amongst them, and that several conferences had been held to that end without success, but that at last he had received entire satisfaction from them, and had given them the trouble to call upon him in order that he might declare his views to them more freely than in past times; and that, through fear of being misunderstood, as he often had been before, he had reduced to writing the heads of his speech, which he would now have read to them. At the commencement, he declares that he has perceived that the peace and establishment of the nation depended, after God, on their hands; praises their wisdom. piety, and disinterestedness; and affirms that he has entire confidence that they will show all necessary readiness to repair past evils. He next professes that he contemplates nothing but the glory of God and the establishment of the nation upon the foundation of a republic, and that he wishes to impose nothing upon them likely to restrain their liberty in making future establishments, but only represents to them, that as the old government has been broken up, it can be reconstructed only upon the ruins of the people, who have pledged themselves in defence of the parliament and of religion, and that, if the king returns, his power will become arbitrary. He speaks afterwards of the City of London as the bulwark of the parliaments, makes its happiness depend upon a republican government, and presupposes that under any other, it cannot become the metropolis of the commerce of all Christendom, to which rank God and nature seem to have destined it. He also proves to them that, upon religious grounds, the monarchy cannot be introduced, because it would bring with it that system of prelacy against which the nation has pledged itself so solemnly; and insinuates that a moderate Presbyterian government, with sufficient liberty for really tender consciences. is the most suitable that can just now be established. The interest of the nobles who have joined with the people is not forgotten; the general judges it advisable that as the state of the three nations is such that another House of Parliament cannot be suffered, some hereditary distinction should be given them which may make them appear more noble to posterity. His conclusion of the whole speech is an invitation to the members to go and promptly take their seats

in order to establish the conduct of the armies in such a manner that they may contribute to the peace and security of the country, and not to its ruin; to provide for the future maintenance of all the forces both by land and sea, as well as for the payment of their arrears and the other necessities of the government; to form a Council of State, with authority to provide for the civil government and the administration of justice, both in Ireland and Scotland, and also to issue writs for the convocation of a parliament of the three united nations on the 30th of April next, with qualifications which shall assure the safety of the cause in which he and the others are engaged, and according to the division of the country effected in the year 1654; which parliament, thus convoked, shall be able to assemble and act with all liberty for a more perfect establishment of the republic, without a king, single ruler, or House of Lords, and that finally the parliament shall legally dissolve itself, in order to make way for others. He then finished by an assurance that the guards would allow the excluded members to resume their seats, that himself and the officers under his command and all the soldiers of the three nations would shed their blood for them and the successive parliaments; but that if their counsels tend to other objects, force and violence will immediately return, and all hopes of the long-desired settlement will be buried in disorder. The members went, with this mission, to resume their places before the others had taken their seats, and found the infantry drawn up in line in Westminster-Hall, with crowds of people who expressed exceeding joy. They found themselves to be sixty in number, and the Speaker having arrived with twenty of the others, they began by revoking all the acts passed against themselves since their election, even the protest which they had entered against the violence of the army, and the resolutions taken subsequently to fill up their places by new elections. General Monk was afterwards declared Captain-general and Commander-in-chief under the parliament of all the forces of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and Vice-admiral Lawson was confirmed in the command of the fleet. The appointment of the five commissioners, named a few days before to govern the army, was also revoked; the deputies from some of the counties, and the citizens of London were set at liberty; and the governor of the Tower was ordered to give an account on the next day of the reasons of the imprisonment of Sir George

Booth and another of the same party; all the orders given by the Council of State or the commissioners of the army since the last day of last week were suspended until they had been communicated to General Monk; and the power of the Council of State was also suspended until new orders should be received from the parliament, which met in the afternoon, and restored the town council which had been dissolved, permitted the mayor of London to replace the city-gates and chains at the public expense, and decided upon forming a new Council of State, composed of thirty-one persons, of whom General Monk was declared one, and the election of the others was deferred until to-morrow morning. Orders were also given for the liberation of several prisoners, among others, of three Scottish earls who had been in confinement for ten years; and the Speaker was directed to summon all the absent members to come and take their places as quickly as possible. The acts passed against Major-General Brown, a timber-merchant in London, who has greatly distinguished himself of late, were abrogated, and liberty was given him to resume his place in the House. Sir George Booth was also set at liberty on giving surety that he would answer to the charges brought against him. An act was then passed for the continuation of the customs and excise duties, another for the convocation of a parliament on the 25th of April next, and commissioners were appointed to decide on the qualifications of those who are eligible for election; others were directed to confer with the mayor of London about a loan for the payment of the army and fleet, and to agree with him upon the securities for repayment. The majority of the acts proposed on the previous evening were again read and approved, and the nomination of the Council of State again deferred to this morning: it has, nevertheless, not yet been completed, and it is said that General Monk is desirous that the parliament should choose some of the old members, among others, Haslerig and Mr. Scott, who appeared to be his greatest opponents, and who are very distinguished among the republicans. Deputies were sent from the City to-day to congratulate and thank the parliament; they have also offered it a considerable sum of money, and the people are for the present so well satisfied, that it will have no difficulty in obtaining the necessary assistance from them. Their joy did not appear to be less on the evening of the day before yesterday than it was on the day when Monk

entered the City; during all the evening and night, bonfires and festivities were kept up, and in many places the king's health was not forgotten. Orders have been given to communicate this news without delay to the whole of the country, and, in order to retain the distant troops in obedience to the present authorities, a letter has been published from General Monk and all the officers under his command, giving reasons for the recent change, and assuring them that all the acts and ordinances of the parliament, in reference to the sale of lands confiscated or given in payment to the soldiers, will be confirmed; it further promises them prompt payment of that which is due to them, exhorts them to take care that the tranquillity of the republic is not disturbed by the partisans of Charles Stuart or any other authority, and invites them to send as soon as possible one of their number to give assurance of their acquiescence in the present government, the inclinations of which are nevertheless esteemed to be royalist. I know that some of the most active amongst them hold these views; and it is consequently the generally-received opinion, that if the declarations of General Monk and his officers are in conformity with their opinions, they will at some future time have great difficulty in preventing the return of the king upon the conditions which were formerly offered to his father in the Isle of Wight. It may, moreover, be presumed that General Monk intends to recall him, that all these demonstrations which he gives by word of mouth, by writing, and by the unfavourable reception of all who wish to treat upon this point with him, may be affected, through fear lest, if he should make known these views, the greater part of the forces both by land and sea would rise in opposition against him; the prolongation of the command of the vice-admiral cannot be attributed to any other cause, as he is a man greatly esteemed by the fleet, but a sectary, and in consequence not very agreeable to the Presbyterians, who are now in possession of the supreme power. These are reflections which are made upon the present condition of England, and nevertheless we must not yet form a decisive opinion upon the future, as there is so little clue in all the actions and words of those upon whom the fate of the government depends, and as it still appears that Monk intends to maintain the establishment of the republic. And if he thought to make himself commander of all the forces, he has now perfectly attained his object; but he will have

some difficulty to maintain himself against the general desire and bent of the whole nation, as he does not possess so vigorous a mind as the deceased Protector, and has to do with skilful adversaries who propose to place the militia in the hands of the nobility of the country, who are all royalists, and thus to strengthen them against the army, if it should attempt to thwart their plans. It was said that the parliament would not sit longer than the end of the week, but a longer time is now spoken of, as it is not possible to settle affairs in so short a time, although the greatest diligence is displayed, and this afternoon, the Council of State was elected, without attending to the general's recommendation in favour of some of the old members. The qualifications of the deputies to the parliament have also been decided upon, without excepting the sectaries, so as not to do them the honour of appearing to fear them. Those who have been actually in arms against the parliament are alone excepted. The Secretary of State has also been dismissed; a proposition was made to call some of the nobles into the Council, but they have given the government to understand that, without injuring their prerogative, they could not form part of it, and this refusal is founded upon the hope that their House will be re-established. I am, &c.

(43.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

My Lord, London, March 5, 1660.

THERE does not appear to me to be any change in the inclinations of the government of England, and the duplicate of my letter to M. de Brienne having informed you of what has taken place during the last three days, it only remains for me to add that Ireland has sent hither a declaration in entire conformity with the course of conduct pursued by General Monk. It professes that the peace of the three nations cannot be established without a free parliament, or the readmission of the excluded members, and the terms of this document show that still greater dispositions exist to return to the old form of government. The officers who held other views retired into Dublin Castle, where they were besieged by the others and taken without bloodshed, as the garrison made no attempt to defend themselves. This change is partly attributed to the news which the army had received of the restoration of the officers whom it had expelled, and among others of Lieutenant-General Ludlow; but if this declaration be an

actual one, it must have been projected with General Monk before his departure from Scotland, and expressions may be remarked in it similar to his own on the subject of the sectaries. It has also just been reported to me that the militia of London has been countermanded this evening, which would afford reasons for believing that the troops gathered together by some old colonels, great sectaries, had submitted, or that, as the city has paid the money which was desired of it, the general is less careful to pleasure it. As the officers are not nominated by him but by commissioners approved by the parliament, although he is Major-General of the militia, his power over it would not be very absolute. Preparations are being made for arming that of the Lowlands, and placing it in other hands than it has been in of late ; and all the officers of police whom the parliament had appointed before the admission of the excluded members have been changed, and the new ones are said to be very much inclined towards the restoration of the monarchy.* * * ———

(44.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, March 8, 1660.

I was not surprised when I saw in the letter which it pleased you to write to me on the 1st of this month, by my courier, an account of the reports prevalent in France of the proclamation of the King of England. The joy with which General Monk was received in the city of London, and the bias exhibited by the people on that day, gave good reasons for supposing that all was ready here for the reception of the prince. Nothing has since occurred of a nature to change this opinion, and nevertheless we cannot but praise the moderation with which the queen of England and her ministers receive such news, when we consider the inconstancy of the people, and the uncertainty of the real opinions of the army under the command of General Monk. His officers are not so blindly obedient to him as to be willing to remain in ignorance of his plans, and, as early as last week, they manifested their disapprobation of the conduct of the parliament, because it tended to the restoration of the monarchy. Their commander pacified them with assurances that all the readmitted deputies had pledged themselves to act in conformity with the document which he had delivered to them before they resumed their seats. This jealousy did not fail to excite the alarm of the parliament, as it followed immediately after the advice given

them by the general to dissolve in a few days, and leave the Council of State to govern until the 15th of April next, when other representatives of the people will commence their sittings. At the same time there also arose some dispute between the general and the city, because the former had opposed the establishment of the militia; but, on the evening of the day before yesterday, he was assured that he should be its commander, which had at first been refused him, under the pretext that such an employment was beneath the dignity of the general of all the forces of the republic. In fact, though it was not judged advisable to intrust so much power to the hands of one single person, this scruple had to be overcome, in order not to displease the general, who had also been obliged to consent to the wishes of the citizens, although with some risk of his authority, in order to obtain from them ——— pounds sterling, which they would not advance until they received permission to organize their militia, Fate would have it that whilst this question was being treated, news arrived from the country which made him decide in favour of the citizens. On the day before yesterday, certain intelligence came that one of the colonels of the army had gathered together some of the old troops at thirty leagues distance from London. A regiment of cavalry, and the general's company of guards set out yesterday to disperse these insurgents, whose leader is not so rash or senseless as to have taken arms without feeling great confidence that many others would follow his example, and especially the sectaries, who are very discontented with the present government. Doubts are even entertained about the general's own troops; and if they failed him great confusion would immediately prevail in England, whereas if they remain devoted to his interests, and he to those of the parliament, the nobility and the city of London, the party of sectaries would not be able to rise again; and their arming will only serve to reduce the general to the necessity of making an earlier accommodation with the royalists, unless he has already made one, which his actions would lead us to believe, although his declarations are of an opposite character. I saw the general this morning, taking as a pretext for my visit, the civilities which I have received from him on different occasions; and after some general compliments, I informed him that the court of France would be glad to hear that the forces of England were under the command of a person of such great

merit and so well affectioned towards the nation; accompanying this compliment by personal offers. He began by referring to matters of public interest, spoke to me of our peace with Spain, and of the affairs of Sweden, but from his whole discourse I can only gather that he is well-intentioned towards this crown, that he would have wished England to have been included in the treaty, and that he hopes that the next parliament will establish a stable government here. Last week the present government approved of the commissioners presented to it to organize the London militia. It has also superseded a number of officers, and appointed others in their stead; and is still debating the qualifications for the next parliament, as well as the form of the writs which are to be issued; upon which question some deputies discovered that in order to act legally they must convoke it in the name of the king. With regard to the taxes, it has been resolved to invite the people to pay them in accordance with the act passed before the return of the excluded members. The general's commission has been approved, and accompanied by the gift of Hampton-court, with the lands adjoining, for himself and his heirs. The circuit which the judges usually make through the provinces at this season has been postponed to another time, and pardon granted to a number of condemned criminals. The act establishing the Council of State and limiting their powers, was passed only the day before yesterday: it contains a very remarkable clause, authority being given it to imprison even members of parliament, notwithstanding that this is contrary to all usage. The ministers of whom it is composed will begin their sittings on this very day and will create their officers. Mr. Thurloe has returned upon the stage in the quality of Secretary of State, but with Thompson, the auditor-general, for his colleague. This choice must not surprise you, since the chief men of the council are the same who had great share in the government under the deceased Protector, whose son has again been proposed to General Monk by the very persons who overthrew him, his restoration appearing to them to be less injurious than that of the King; and in all probability, he would be preferred to him, however little he may be esteemed, as the return of the latter is as much apprehended by the Presbyterians as by those who have been engaged in the recent movements in England. To-day it will be determined upon what day the parliament will dissolve, and all to-morrow will be passed in thanksgivings.

(45.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, March 15, 1660.

The internal affairs of England are in the same state as my preceding letter informed you they were, and the conduct of General Monk continues to induce the belief that his inclinations are for the recall of the King, although his words are opposed to it. The troops in London and elsewhere also profess to feel great repugnance thereto; and the officers having a day or two since brought this question under discussion, they were of opinion that if the republic could not be established, at least the King and the last Protector ought to be excluded from the government, and they appeared more inclined to raise their general to the throne than any other. Although he has expressed his disapprobation of these consultations, people have not failed to entertain the idea that they may be intended to suggest to the parliament what it ought to do; but this body would with difficulty be led to place any other but the legitimate sovereign upon the throne, as it perceives that such a course would plunge the nation into continual troubles, and its debates seem to be preparing the way for the king's return. A few days since it passed an act for the levy of the militia of London and the country under the command of General Monk, without, however, leaving him power to dispose of the commissions, which have all been given to royalists. It has also declared him together with Colonel Montague, colonel of the sea, and the latter has orders to proceed to the fleet without delay. Besides the establishment of the militia, and the confirmation of the choice made by the Council of State, of Messrs. Thompson and Thurloe as Secretaries of State, the parliament further decided, last week, upon what shall be the national religion: this will be a confession of faith which was presented to it in 1646, in conformity with the opinions of our Calvinists; and in future no one will be admitted to a living until he has subscribed to it. This matter occasioned them to speak of the Covenant, and to propose an order to have it read in the parishes, so that the people may be reminded of their engagements. As mention is made therein of the king and nobility, this will in some sort dispose the minds of men to return to the old form of government. It was also determined last week that the parliament should dissolve at the very latest on the 25th of this month, and a debate arose on the form of the writs and on the qualifications of the representatives who are to succeed them, but was not brought to

a conclusion. A number of prisoners were again liberated, Sir George Booth and all his party discharged from further prosecution, and the city and county of Chester restored to their privileges. As this act of indemnity extends also to those who were then in the service of the parliament, General Lambert has begun to re-appear in public. This morning an order was issued directing the Catholics to remain confined in their houses, under the pretext that they are in correspondence with the sectaries, some of whom have openly declared against this government, among others the garrison of Hull, and Vice-admiral Lawson, who has been trying to alienate the fleet; some of the old troops have also revolted in the country, and five companies of infantry have seized upon the town of Gloucester. But unless all the troops follow this bad example, these movements will not have any results of importance. The city of London continues to caress and humour the general, and last week deputies were sent by the citizens to present him with the command of the militia. Letters have been received from the army in Ireland in conformity with the declaration which appeared last week, and the latest news from that country is, that on the 3rd inst. a meeting was to be held to consider what means they had of maintaining themselves, in case England did not entertain the same views. This is, my lord, all that I have to write of the actions and deliberations which have occurred here. * * *

(46.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, March 18, 1660.

I have received to-day the two letters which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 26th of last month and the 5th of the present. My previous letters will have informed you that I have forestalled the order which you give me in your first regarding General Monk, as I have already paid him a visit, and told him that the king and your Eminence would be delighted to hear that the forces of England were under his command, and that you would contribute to the furtherance of his plans. I will not fail to reiterate the same sentiments to him by means of a third person, if he objects to receive a second visit. At my first interview I did not fail to touch upon all matters likely to discover his inclinations towards France, and he seemed to me to speak reproachfully, although rather in raillery, of the peace between

France and Spain, because England had not been included in it. I however obliged him at last to confess that the foreign affairs of the country were entirely new to him. He then referred to the wars of the North, and asked me whether we should not continue to assist the king of Sweden; appearing to advocate this monarch's interests with considerable warmth, I pointed out to him that France alone had maintained this principle, and that, in order to secure it against all its enemies, it was necessary that England should speak and act in conformity with what his Majesty had done both at Frankfort and at the Hague, in order to compel the Emperor and the States-general to take some measures for an accommodation; I even offered to have a private conference with the ministers of the Council of State, in order to concert measures for its advancement. This language cannot but be very agreeable to him, as his hatred of the United Provinces has always been very great—so great, indeed, that when the deceased Protector sent him to command the fleet he was not contented with combating them on the sea, but wished to make a descent upon the coast and attack Flushing, which he felt sure of capturing. The Protector did not judge it advisable to go to such lengths against the Provinces, but rather to make peace with them, through fear of their maritime power; and so he sent the general into Scotland, whence he was never afterwards able to withdraw him, nor could the Protector Richard induce him to take up his defence. If your Eminence has anything to insinuate to him, I can easily do it through his confidants. In my previous letters I dwelt at considerable length upon the conduct pursued by this general, and the opinions entertained of it. People are now beginning to think that his ambition is not so limited, and that he aspires to the sovereignty; that, in order to attain to it, he permits the restoration of the monarchy to be spoken of in the parliament in very undisguised language, and allows the militia both in London and the country to be placed under the command of royalists, in order that the troops, becoming jealous, may unite with him, and adopt his interests, to which they have at first manifested considerable aversion; but whatever may be the general's intentions, he is allowing matters to take a very decided turn in favour of the king. And on the first day of this week the parliament decreed that the Covenant made at the commencement of the wars in England should be read in all the parishes, and fixed

up in the House of Parliament. As this engagement speaks in very express terms of the defence of the king, and of his just authority, the troops have immediately taken the alarm at it, and the officers at their meeting yesterday proposed a requisition tending to the suppression of the monarchy and of the House of Lords. They went this morning to communicate it to the general, in order to obtain his approbation before presenting it; but he opposed it, declaring that he would not allow the parliament to be constrained in its votes; he even treated some of the officers, who appeared to be more animated than the others, with harshness; but he nevertheless stated that the object of the requisition was a good and just one, and undertook to confer upon the matter with some members of parliament this evening. Many occasions have taken place of late on which this assembly has manifested its inclination towards the king, even so far as to receive with thanks addresses in which it was termed only the House of Commons, and to disapprove of others which gave it the title of sovereign authority; it has even been declared that another parliament could not legitimately be called without the Lords, and that, in consequence of the king's death, the present parliament is at an end. These private opinions would be of less weight if all the appointments, both in the militia and the police, were not given to royalists; and two days ago the government of Hull, whose garrison has declared against the present authorities, was conferred by the general, on the recommendation of the parliament, upon a person strongly inclined towards that party. The republicans have nevertheless resumed courage since the meeting of the officers; and now that all are entered into the parliament, their number is rather considerable. Yesterday Sir Arthur Haslerig and Colonel Rich (who had tried to induce the sectaries to revolt), after having been heard in their own defence, were, the first discharged, and the other sent back to the Council, who put him in arrest. As for General Lambert, his imprisonment in the Tower has been approved, although he is confined only in default of having given surety for his future conduct. Some regulations concerning religion have also been made during the last few days, and debates will be permitted only upon this matter, or the militia and the qualifications of the ensuing parliament, until the day of the dissolution of the present, which will be in eight days, unless some change takes

place. The republicans will strive to prolong its sessions, and instead of convoking a new representative assembly, to fill up the vacant places so as to perpetuate this one. Some royalists appear to apprehend it, and others to be desirous to have the merit of making establishments instead of putting them off, although the excluded members pledged themselves, before their readmission, to introduce no changes into the government, but to convoke another free parliament, to whose enactments the general has promised and still professes that he will submit. There is no news from Ireland; and public rumour still affirms that the army there is very well disposed towards the king, and that it has even sent to treat with him. Scotland is very tranquil, according to the promise which the principal nobility made to the general before his departure, and the resolution to restore the Covenant will give them great satisfaction. The movements which occurred at Gloucester and some other places have subsided of themselves; and the troops which the governor of Hull attempted to excite by his declaration, have continued in their obedience; the Vice-admiral, also, as it was reported, raised the mask; but his intentions are still suspected, as he is a great sectary. The city of London has organized its militia without giving much consideration to the persons whom the general had recommended; but it has nevertheless continued to caress and regale him very greatly. * * *

(47.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 22, 1660.

SINCE my letter of the 18th, the general and some officers have had a conference with some members of parliament, in which the former demanded an act of indemnity for all the past, that the sales of confiscated property shall be confirmed, that the government shall be constituted without a king or House of Lords, and that the militia shall not be organized. Nothing was granted to them, under the pretext that the present parliament could not do it validly; and they were referred to the next, with which they appeared satisfied. Their general has not failed to remove most of them out of the way, commanding them to withdraw each to his own quarters; which order they obeyed to-day. Meanwhile the parliament has continued its debates upon the establishment of the militia, and this morning concluded this very important business, notwithstanding the opposition of the republicans, who have

only obtained that no one shall be employed therein before he has acknowledged that the late wars were just and for the good of the country. An act has also been passed approving of all that the parliament had done from the commencement of its session until 1648, when the members were excluded; and now the universal talk is of the dissolution of this assembly in three days, as the general hopes to execute his designs more easily under a new one than with the present. His conduct still confirms the king's return. The republicans agree with the royalists in thinking so; and there does not appear sufficient resolution among the troops to prevent him. Some officers who attempted to excite them to mutiny have been arrested, and the governor of Hull has received the law from those whom the general had sent to him. There is no news from either Scotland, Ireland, or abroad; and it only remains for me to subscribe myself with respect, &c.

I learn that accounts have just arrived from Ireland which declare that the army has proclaimed the king, and that Colonel Cooke has gone over to Flanders. If this news is true, the next post will bring its confirmation.

(48.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 25, 1660.

THE news which I added to my last letter has proved untrue; and although the army in Ireland appears inclined to recall the king, it will probably postpone any declaration until some government is established in England. You will judge from my previous letters that everything concurs to the restoration of the monarchy. The parliament has, moreover, lately erased from its journals the act of abjuration of a king or any single ruler, and has appointed commissioners to examine into what has passed against the House of Lords, with some intention of restoring it to authority. Nevertheless, for the last twenty-four hours, there has been much uncertainty in the course of events, because the officers of the army in London continue loudly to threaten, and propose a declaration against the king, the nobility, and the levy of the militia. At the present time, nine o'clock in the evening, they are assembled; and as hitherto the officers have never deferred to their other commanders when once they have been aroused, every one expects some great event before long; otherwise the militia would be organized, and in a position to oppose

the designs of the army. On the other side, the parliament is assembled for a few hours more, part of the deputies being desirous to terminate their session to-day, and the others opposing it. With this view different propositions are being made to gain time: the general presses their dissolution, and the royalists think it advantageous; but some of the re-admitted members having changed sides and joined the old parliamentarians, the House is nearly equally divided. If this night, which seems to be critical, produces any important resolution, I will send it by an express to Calais. I have only time to add that the qualifications of the future parliament were concluded yesterday evening. The most important is the exclusion of those who have been in arms against the parliament, and of their children. This morning, when the act conferring Hampton Court upon the general was read for the last time, according to custom, objections were brought against it; and a proposition having been made to give him 20,000*l.* sterling in money instead, the question was postponed to another time. Some regulations were also made in reference to religion. The same act which compels the officers of the militia to acknowledge that the war undertaken by the two Houses of Parliament to defend themselves against the forces levied in the name of the king was just and legitimate, enacts also that they shall acknowledge the ministry and magistracy to be of God's appointment. I have nothing to communicate of a more positive character regarding the general than I wrote by my preceding letters; his conduct and words still continue to be opposed to each other, and he keeps on good terms with the city of London. The royalists hope that he is in their favour, and others that he intends to raise himself to the crown. Some members of parliament have the idea of placing the Duke of Gloucester upon the throne, and through him ensuring themselves against inquiries into the past. It is by no means easy to judge what will be the issue of all the present intrigues. I am, &c.

(49.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, March 29, 1660.

I HAVE given so full an answer to what M. de Brienne wrote me on the 9th of this month by your Eminence's courier, that I have nothing to add thereto regarding the present condition of England, as nothing has occurred of any importance

since the 25th, except the voluntary dissolution of the parliament, after it had given the necessary orders for the convocation of another, which is to commence its sittings on the 5th of May next, and for the levy of the militia in all the counties, under the command of the principal nobility and gentry, without excluding those who took arms under Sir George Booth. General Monk wrote to the parliament to suspend this act; and whether because his officers were satisfied with this diligence, or have been otherwise pacified, that great murmuring, which exhibited itself among them three days ago, has changed into complete silence and submission, although the levy of the militia is considered as their ruin. The rest of the people are very quiet; and all await the meeting of parliament, in the hope of beholding a great revolution in the government. It appears that the Council of State is desirous also to make sure of the navy by the preparations which are making; and Admiral Montague, who is restored to the command, is to proceed to the fleet without delay. The last letters from Ireland represent that great uniformity of opinions exists between the army and the assembly which was held in Dublin, this last body having approved of the declaration of the other in favour of a free parliament, and the readmission of the excluded members; but both are desirous that in future the Irish parliament may be held, and that no levy shall be made in the country without its consent, as was the case in past times. The great changes which this nation has of late undergone, and its poverty through want of commerce, have given rise to this desire. I have not yet performed what your Eminence ordered me with regard to the general. I shall do it to-morrow; and by the next post I shall answer the letter which you did me the honour to write to me on the 13th, it having been delivered too late for me to discharge this duty to-day. Meanwhile I have nothing to add, except that I am, &c.

(50.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO M. DE BRIENNE.

SIR, London, March 29, 1660.

I ANNOUNCED by the previous mail, my reception of the letter which it pleased you to write to me on the 9th of last month, and reserved my answer until to-day; and in reply to your question I must say that it is considered, and with great reason, that England, after having made trial of so many governments, none of which have been able to establish them-

selves, will prefer a monarchy to the others, and that the king has now great reason for strong hopes, as the nobles and the people desire his return with greater ardour than they formerly exhibited in overthrowing the authority of his predecessor. It is also no less certain that the actions of the general authorize the belief that his intentions are in conformity with the wishes of the nation, although he professes the contrary; and this unanimity having persuaded me that the king's return was, as it were, certain, the idea occurred to me, before I received any orders, to induce, if possible, the present government to invite the mediation of his Majesty, and to receive their sovereign from his hands rather than from those of Spain: to which it seemed to me that the Presbyterians, who are now in power, might be disposed, that they might have a powerful guarantee of all the conditions upon which they would admit their prince. The attempt, however, which I have made by means of persons interested in the success of this negociation, have not yet produced the desired effect, and this is an overture which could not be made without danger by a private person before the authorities had taken all the requisite precautions for changing the government without involving the country in a war. It is also to be feared that the party leaders who ought to support such a proposition will be diverted from it by the personal advantages which they will derive from private treaties. Already even, the principal posts under the crown are said to be destined for some of them, in which case it is not to be expected that they will take much care to provide for the public interests, or that they will have recourse to foreign mediation, which the king of England will endeavour to avoid so as not to be indebted to any other power for his restoration. The same opinion may be held regarding General Monk, it being to be presumed that he will not consent to give up the sovereignty which he now enjoys in all but the name, and become a subject, unless he is assured of all the advantages that the king can grant him, to deserve which he will desire alone to have the glory of replacing him on the throne, and will not avail himself of the offers of France except in case of extremity; besides which, it being necessary for the accomplishment of such a design, that he should deceive his army and profess himself a republican, he will make great difficulties about listening to any proposition which may force him to declare himself. These difficulties will not prevent me

from doing all in my power for the performance of my orders, and with this view, I shall avail myself of one of those most interested in the fortune of the general, who has already conveyed to him very obliging messages from me, even so far as to assure him that his Majesty would contribute to his elevation. It has seemed to him advisable to dispose him by these marks of esteem to give a better reception to the other propositions with which I might be charged; I am also making preparations for sounding some of the principal members of the Council who have, in former times, declared their intentions to me so openly in favour of the king that they will not take in bad part anything respecting him; and finally, Sir, it is enough to stimulate my little industry and all my cares to know that this service is so agreeable to the king, and so much desired by his Eminence. It may be effected during the interregnum, as it is not to be supposed that any government will be formed before the meeting of the next parliament; that one which dates its origin from 1640, has at last voluntarily dissolved upon the 26th of this month. Up to this moment every one had doubted its dissolution, and it was thought that the deputies of whom this assembly was composed would rather recall the king than leave the merit of that step to others, even if it would not besides have been to their interest to efface in this way the recollection of the evils which they have caused. The will of the general prevailed over these considerations, and there appeared only three voices against so violent a resolution, which was adopted, after having left the Council of State rather ample powers, and passed an act for the convocation of the new parliament, including the clause that it should not be prejudicial to the rights of the nobility, which some even wished to extend to the prerogatives of the king; the establishment of the militia was also determined upon, notwithstanding the letter which the general wrote on the same day to the Speaker to suspend it. He showed this zeal in order to satisfy his officers and some republicans; but the deputies whom the parliament sent to him induced him by their reasons to cease his opposition. It is affirmed, nevertheless, that he has promised to prevent its execution in order to appease the army, the intentions of which appear in a very different aspect from that which they exhibited last week. It is also stated as a fact that, on the evening before the parliament dissolved, the general made use of very

precise language towards the republicans, and some of them spoke against royalty with their last breath; nevertheless, his conduct shows that he is more and more favourable to a monarchical government, and he has of late given the command of towns, vessels, and troops to notorious royalists. The greater part of the militia of the country has been placed in their hands; Sir George Booth is even to command that of Cheshire; and there arrive daily from Flanders persons known to be attached to the king, and no inquiries are made about their movements. No words could be capable of effacing the impression produced by this behaviour; and consequently no one doubts that, unless the army revolts soon, it will be obliged to receive the law and consent to its own destruction, which is projected by changing the old officers, and re-organizing all the corps one after another. The Council of State began to meet on the day before yesterday, and its first step has been to issue, to-day, public prohibitions of all assemblies under any pretext whatever; a proclamation to send back the royalists and Catholics to their ordinary places of residence, and another to make the officers withdraw to their quarters. The first two seem to have been framed only with a view to give a colour to the last, as it is not a great mortification to send the nobility back to the country, whither they are, moreover, summoned by the election of the members of parliament, which now occupies all minds. * * *

(51.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, April 1, 1660.

I HAD postponed until to-day writing an answer to the letter which it pleased your Eminence to write to me on the 13th of last month, in the hope of sending you at the same time an account of the success which might have attended my efforts to execute the orders sent me by M. de Brienne: but, not having yet been able to obtain an interview with the general, or see that person who can give me most information about his views, I can only assure your Eminence of my entire devotedness to the service expected of me, and that I shall employ in it all the circumspection of which I am capable. I can also confirm all that my previous letters have stated regarding the present disposition of England to recall the king. The members of the Council openly profess that they have this intention, and although the general still keeps up the hopes

of the republicans, he has nevertheless declared that he will submit to the resolutions of the ensuing parliament, and will do his best to keep the army in the same obedience and declare itself for the king, as it is not doubted for a moment that the nobility and people will elect deputies well-affectioned towards him. Words have also escaped from the general, in his family, which give reason to believe him altogether pledged to favour the king's return even if the parliament opposed it, and his actions are in great conformity with such a design. If it is already formed, the good offices of another power will not be necessary, and the steps I am taking will only manifest his Majesty's inclinations, of which the royalists appear to be fully persuaded since the journey of Lord Jermyn and Abbé Montague. If the general were still wavering between the recall of the king and acceptance of the sovereignty which has been offered him by the republicans, he might be determined to one or the other course by the dispositions of France; but his ambition must be limited to the highest fortune of a subject, since he allows the whole nation to be armed under the command of nobles and gentlemen known to be passionately attached to the royal family. As for a republican government, it is no longer mentioned, except in the addresses of the regiments of the whole army, which the Council intends to disband as soon as the militia is organized, at which all parties are diligently labouring. Some are desirous that at the same time the heads of the government should propose the conditions upon which the king shall be received, and do not consider themselves safe if he is to dispose of the militia, money, commissions, appointments, and the choice of his Council. These limitations may nevertheless be proposed at first to appease those who apprehend the revolution, and it is deferred until the next parliament meets. This body will be composed of young persons who, not having been engaged in the war, will not make use of all these precautions; preparations are also being made to regulate religion according to the example of the Protestant faith in France, both in doctrine and in ecclesiastical discipline; and, during the last few days the ministers have felt great grief because the king of England has made some bishops. As the Presbyterians, who are now in power, formerly appeared more inclined towards France than to Spain, I had the idea that they might be persuaded to seek the king from their friends rather than from their

enemies, and the overtures which were made to some of them on this point were favourably received; but many others judge it more advisable that he should retire into Holland or to Cologne, that they may treat with him more conveniently, and without exciting the jealousy of the two crowns. This course will probably be pursued, and the reports which have been spread of his retirement into Flanders seem rather to have derived their foundation from this, than from any disposition to a peace between England and Spain. It is very true that the parliament, a few days before the readmission of the excluded members had some thoughts of making an accommodation, and receiving money for Dunkirk and Jamaica: if its administration had continued a little longer, it would have depended upon Spain only to put an end to the war, which we may say has largely contributed to the great animosity of the people, and particularly of the City of London, against the last parliament, on account of the injury which it has done to trade, and which has been attributed to the domestic divisions of the nations, since which this city has become more powerful than it ever was under the kings. The present government, in order to please it, has first professed to be desirous of peace, and it will easily be perceived that the king is under too great obligations to Spain to continue the war. Letters from Flanders even assure us that the Duke of York has accepted the command of the naval forces of Spain, with the title of Prince of the Sea, and the same prerogatives as were enjoyed by Don John of Austria, under Philip II. Nevertheless, during the last few days, the propositions of the Portuguese ambassador have been more favourably listened to, and there is a strong disposition not to enter into a league with this prince, but to permit and assist him to levy all the infantry that he may need, even to lend him vessels for their transport, and to send others, at his cost, against the coast of Spain, to thwart its designs against Portugal, the separation of which is considered very necessary. This good will, which proceeds in part from a desire to remove the old troops from England, would not be compatible with a treaty of peace, and apparently the negociation will be put off until the government is established. I will not fail to make every effort to learn what passes upon this subject, and give you an account of it. I have had occasion to speak at some length on behalf of the Swedes, at a conference with some commissioners of the

Council who paid me a visit: after having declared to them that the king would be glad to see the government of England in the hands of those who at all times have shown themselves to be well-intentioned towards France, I invited them to unite with us in securing the preservation of the crown of Sweden and the advancement of the peace of the North, exaggerating its condition to them, and the steps which his Majesty had taken in order both to frustrate the Emperor's designs, and bring the United Provinces to an accommodation. In answer to my civilities, they declared that it was their wish to fall in with his Majesty's views, and to contribute by all means in their power to the maintenance of good feeling between the two states: but their language with regard to the interests of Sweden was not so decisive. I, nevertheless, remain persuaded that the Council is disposed to act in concert with France, and we agreed that, in that case, the English ministers resident at the Hague and in Zealand shall press the King of Denmark and the States-General to accept the treaties which they themselves proposed before the death of the king of Sweden, and which the governors of the kingdom have since offered to sign, abandoning their pretensions to the bailiwick of Drontheim, which seemed to form the chief difficulty. But if the good offices of France and England produce no effect, and if the king of Denmark resolves to take advantage of the present conjuncture to return into possession of the territory which he ceded by the treaty of Roskield, the said ministers will declare their opposition to this step, and will accompany their protest by some menaces; and we shall then advise upon the means of forcing him to an accommodation, and this plan will be communicated beforehand to the Dutch ambassador resident here. I shall require to be still more particularly assured of the sentiments of the Council. These commissioners having affected to speak only on their own authority and without orders, I reminded them of the entreaties which have been made on the part of the United Provinces to induce England not to pay the new tax of a crown for every ton of freight; and they agreed that every state might act as it pleased in regard to itself, and that no resolution should be taken upon this subject before they had communicated it to me. These are the principal points which we discussed. I took care to let fall, when the conversation allowed it, some words which gave them to understand that the king wished

that England might enjoy peace at home as well as abroad, and was not less disposed than in past times to contribute to both; but these expressions of good will were not taken up and produced nothing but general thanks, and it is to be presumed that those who are in a position to contribute to the king's restoration will think it more advantageous to treat directly with him than to accept the mediation of France. Nothing of importance has occurred during the last few days, except that the officers of the army have drawn up a declaration conformable to their first propositions; but the general has caused it to be suppressed, and they have not undertaken anything since. The City of London has not failed to offer a refuge both to the general and to the Council of State, to preserve them from the danger to which the discontent of the army seemed to expose them: they have not considered it right to accept this offer, and thus the evil has not been found so great as the citizens thought it was. For greater precaution, the Council had obtained parole from the principal reformed officers, and those who refused to take this pledge have been imprisoned. The parliament had instructed the Council of State to take sureties from Lambert, but they have judged it more advisable to keep him in confinement than to grant him liberty. All the nobility have gone into the country to organize the militia and work in the elections. It only remains for me, &c. * * *

(52.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, April 5, 1660.

NOTHING of importance has occurred, to my knowledge, since the 1st of this month; and all ideas seem now to run on the establishment of the militia, and the election of the parliament, which are drawing all persons into the country. One regiment, at some considerable distance from London, is said to have mutinied; but the others remain in obedience. This is not a revolt worthy of much consideration. The General has cashiered several colonels, and given their commissions to gentlemen who are considered to be inclined towards royalty. He is also preparing to disband four regiments, and by these reforms to reduce the troops to that footing which they should be on, in order to give no opposition to the establishments which the new parliament may wish to make. The General still declares that he will introduce no innovations until it

begins its session. I visited him on the day before yesterday, and conveyed to him the message with which your Eminence intrusted me, without obtaining from him anything beyond general thanks, notwithstanding the care that I took to induce him to be more explicit with regard to the offer of friendship, and the desire of your Eminence that he should repose as much confidence in you as the deceased Protector had done: he gave no further explanations on the subject of the government of England, and reiterated that it would be established only by the new parliament. We next spoke of the affairs of Sweden and Portugal; and I found him rather disposed to assist the former, if the King of Denmark refuses the accommodation which has been proposed to him. He confirmed to me what I had previously heard of the resolution adopted by the Council, to allow the ambassador of Portugal to levy all the infantry which his sovereign may require, and to lend him ships for their transport. This is all that I was able to derive from this visit, except excuses that he had not yet called upon me. His wife's brother has since visited me, and I gave him further explanations, assuring him that your Eminence would be very glad to make known to the General the esteem which you feel for him: I even offered him your mediation, when he told me that the General had not taken any measures with the King of England, avowing, nevertheless, that if he becomes disposed to his return, he has taken upon himself to make the proposition spontaneously, and to see me again. But I cannot believe that they have waited until this time to make some private treaty. There are, at present, in London, persons accredited on the part of the king. If that which is reported is true, they insinuate that the Queen of England is excepted from the accommodation, together with all the English of her household. It is also to the interest of those who are in Flanders to believe that they are exchanging these good offices underhand, and the Presbyterians will easily be induced to humour them on this point. I have even heard lately that the Council, so as not to be obliged to grant the return of the queen, will not seek the mediation of France. I will remove these scruples, if possible; and will continue my endeavours to induce this government to do what his Majesty desires of it. * * * There are news from Ireland, which represent the assembly of that country to be very much at union with the army, to remain, in some method,

independent of England. Neither the Council nor the General are satisfied with this proceeding, which may materially hasten their determinations. It only remains for me to write that General Montague has set out for the fleet; Vice-Admiral Lawson, who is in command of it, does not appear very well satisfied at the downfall of the sectaries; nevertheless, it is not expected that he will refuse to obey. I am, &c.,

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(53.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, April 12, 1660.

I have not received any news for a long while, either from the General or his wife's brother; it has, however, been reported to me by another authority that the leaders of the Council have of late discussed the proposition which I made, of the mediation of France to reconcile the King of England and the Parliament; and that they are divided in opinion, some wishing to treat with him either in Flanders or some neutral town, such as Cologne or Breda, and others that he should proceed to France to receive their propositions. The first wish is in conformity with the desire of the ministers of this prince, who, by means of their friends, are straining every nerve to prevent us from having any part in the accommodation, and also to exclude from it the Queen of England, with all her household. To this end they make use of a number of suppositions, and amongst others, in order to excite the popular fury against France, they assert that the king is willing to undertake to restore the monarch of England with an army; that Abbé Montague has gone to give him assurances of his purpose; that already even preparations are being made in France for its performance; and that a marriage is projected, in consideration for which his Majesty will spare no pains to make the enterprise succeed, in which case the people of England will be deprived of all their prerogatives, and the authority of the parliaments will be destroyed; whereas, by treating directly with the king, he will grant all that may be judged necessary for the preservation of both. It is even insinuated that Spain would keep the king back, rather than allow France the glory of the treaty; and the same persons also make use of the pretext of religion against the Queen of England, representing that her return would entail liberty of conscience for the Catholics; but their principal fear is, that she will gain possession of the king's mind,

and withdraw him from state affairs. I see that some of the heads of the government are not much affected by these considerations; and, in order to confirm them in their present good disposition, I assure them that his Majesty would exact no condition opposed either to the laws of England, or to the safety of those who have been mixed up in the recent commotions; and that it would not be to his interest that they should be out of office, as he believes they are well-affectioned towards France. I have also given some to understand that their private interests might be attended to, and that your Eminence would feel obliged by the confidence reposed in him in this conjuncture. It cannot be predicted what will be the issue of these advances, so long as the General refuses to speak; and if, as I understand, his accommodation is already made with the king, he will conform to his intentions, which will apparently be opposed to the mediation of any foreign state. I discussed this matter at considerable length with Mr. Thurloe, who paid me a visit on the day before yesterday. He began by a declaration that he had come in his private capacity to thank me for the politeness I have shown him since his return to office; nevertheless, after this compliment, he passed on to speak of public affairs, affecting to be ignorant of what had taken place of late between France and England. He informed me that the government was very jealous of us; that all the advices from Flanders and France declared that the greater part of his Majesty's troops were destined to the service of the king of England, and that his marriage was decided upon; that Abbé Montague had gone to Flanders to fetch him from thence, and convey to him these resolutions, and that they were even confirmed by the agents of this prince. He added that, although the people of England were disposed to receive him, neither the Council nor the army would admit him with foreign troops, or without conditions, so that the supreme power might still remain in their hands; that if he refused them, and attempted to come back by other means, they would all unite against his return, and would have no difficulty in preventing it, as the army and part of the nation are so much opposed to it. I assured the secretary that there did not appear to me to be any foundation for all these reports, and that I had orders to declare that his Majesty desired to maintain perfect unanimity with the government of England; that I had been sent hither with very

precise instructions, and that nothing had occurred since to give reason to believe that he had changed his views: that if any individuals attempted to give contrary impressions, it was to prevent the government from remembering the good offices which his Majesty formerly interposed to stop the course of divisions between the king and the people of England, and from having recourse to him on the present occasion; and I took occasion to say that, far from any hostile measures being contemplated in France, I had been ordered to give them to understand that, if his mediation could contribute to the welfare of the nation, he would gladly employ it, and would even receive with pleasure any request that might be made to him to intervene, as a very obliging token of the confidence which the government reposed in his friendship. I accompanied this overture by every argument that was adapted to render it agreeable, and to induce the secretary to support it whenever occasion should offer; and he very solemnly protested to me that he would do all in his power to cause measures to be taken here, whether the king is recalled or the republic established, which shall closely unite France and England, repeating that, in either case, those who were now in power would retain the chief authority; that the most zealous, who were in appearance for the king, will easily change their minds when they find themselves in power; and that he could not answer for the conduct of the next parliament, as so numerous a body is subject to factions, and the least division might restore the courage of the army, which is as much opposed to the king as ever. Mr. Thurloe next passed from these general expressions to particulars, and asked me how a negociation could be carried on through France during the removal of the court, if the King of England would repair thither, and if Spain did not arrest him as soon as she suspected his intentions. I satisfied him on this point, by assuring him that, as soon as your Eminence was informed of the desire which existed here, you would take care to obtain a speedy resolution from the King of England, and would take measures against the hindrances which might arise on the part of Spain. The conclusion of all this conversation was a promise from the secretary to think the matter over, and to see me again in a few days. I gathered from his expressions, and from the warmth with which he spoke to me, that the jealousies of the Council are great, and fomented

by the agents of the king of England, in order, perhaps, to inspire alarm here, and thus to hasten his return upon more advantageous terms; but this is a very dangerous policy, it being presumable that the heads of the government will rather adopt the views of the army than expose themselves to the animosity of the royalists, whom they have offended. In common with many others, I perceive less inconvenience in acquiescence with the conditions which will be required here, since, whatever they may be, if the parliament is once dissolved and the army disbanded, the king will meet with no opposition to the re-establishment of the authority enjoyed by his predecessors, as the militia is in the hands of nobles and gentlemen, whose interest it is to diminish the power of the people. I learn, also, from my conversation with the secretary, that the English who are with the king, are not on good terms with those of the queen's retinue, and that the former, of their own accord or by order, are attempting to prevent her from having any part in the accommodation; in which they will probably succeed, notwithstanding the inclination of some who have of late written to Brussels, to complain in this respect of the conduct of Mr. Mordaunt, an emissary of Chancellor Hyde. The former maintain no more connection with me than the others, but all are trying to gain over the general, who does not explain his views, but refers them to the next parliament; whence it is supposed that his private treaty is already made, there being otherwise no likelihood that he would leave all the glory to this assembly, as well as the power which it might easily use to his prejudice and that of the ministers of the present government. I have no other part to take in all these intrigues, in order to perform the last orders which were forwarded to me, except to assure all of his Majesty's goodwill, to offer them my services both with the general and my acquaintances in the Council, and to propose an accommodation through the mediation of France, without excluding the queen: to this work I have applied myself for several days, and I shall continue to do so until the conclusion of the business, which does not seem likely to occur before the meeting of parliament. Secretary Thurloe told me, in the course of our conversation, that as the letters from the North have not brought certain intelligence of an accommodation between the kings of Sweden and Denmark, the Council of State had resolved to send, by the secretary of the

plenipotentiaries who are in Zealand, orders to them and to Mr. Downing to speak at the Hague and to the king of Denmark, in conformity with the proposition which I made at my last conference; and I was requested to inform MM. de Thou and de Terlon of this, that, on their side, they might continue to urge both states as before; which I undertook to do, assuring them that his Majesty would take in very good part the disposition which exists here to act in concert with him for the reconciliation of these two princes. We also spoke of the affairs of Portugal, and of the permission which the Council was going to grant it to levy as many as twelve thousand infantry: and the Secretary having given me to understand that England would take charge of this crown if the interests of the North did not divert her attention, I told him that France would discharge her from the latter duty upon that condition, and undertake single-handed, the defence of the Swedes, but that there was no reason to hope that she would engage, before the return of the King of England, in such an important enterprise, especially as I know that the inclinations of this prince would tend rather to favour Spain than her enemies. He again repeated to me that they would tie his hands so as to take from him the liberty of making peace and war, and that the overture which I had made might be adopted without the appearance, or even, the intervention of any treaty; which, nevertheless, is not very likely. I should rather think that foreign affairs will be postponed until the King is established, and no one can form a decisive judgment upon what will happen when the supreme authority is in other hands. The interests of Denmark will then receive greater consideration than those of the King of Sweden, and I have already informed his ministers of this, as they were flattering themselves that they should be benefited by the revolution to which all things are tending. The deputies, who have been elected in various places, and among others in London, are very favourable to it, and the commissioners for the establishment of the militia are giving the command of it to the most qualified among the nobility. The old troops clearly perceive that this tends to their destruction; nevertheless, they do not dare to revolt, and a Colonel who appeared discontented was not in a position to disobey the orders of the General, who has cashiered him. Some plots for debauching the soldiers in London, have also been discovered; and it has been found that some were pro-

jecting the appointment of agitators, as in past times, to take care of their private interests. But this plan also has been frustrated by the imprisonment of its projector, and by the prohibitions of the Council. The sectaries have, at the same time, been suspected of having contributed a large sum of money to bribe the soldiers, and some pains have been taken during the last few days to discover the depositories of this collection, which is, perhaps, a supposition in order to render them more odious, it being certain that their number is not sufficient to prevent the projected establishments, unless the whole of the old army should rise with them. Ireland is still in the same state, and the Council has despatched orders for the dissolution of the assembly of Dublin, which still continues to meet. Scotland is very tranquil under the command of Major-General Morgan, who served formerly in Flanders; and it only remains for me to subscribe myself, &c.

(54.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, April 19, 1660.

The advances which I have made both to the General and to Mr. Thurloe, not having prevented the Council of State from inclining to treat with the King of England in Holland, and by the mediation of the States-General, rather than by that of his Majesty, I have, by other means, inspired the most influential members of the Council and some of the chief nobles of the Presbyterian faction, with the desired sentiments. One of the former has just given me his word, that they will invite the prince to pass into France, and there receive the propositions of the parliament, and that, in case any difficulty arises about the accommodation, the mediation of France will be solicited. They desire, nevertheless, that at the same time his Majesty should make the offer to the King of England, and assure him that he shall be received in any maritime town which may appear to him most convenient. I have promised both, as soon as the present state of feeling becomes known in France, that his Majesty will take in good part all the confidence reposed in him by the principal ministers of the English government, that he will promote a reconciliation by all means in his power, and that your Eminence will take particular care of their interests. I must not conceal from you that, in the various conferences which I have had with several of them, they have questioned

me repeatedly about the marriage of the King of England, and state that the nation felt great apprehensions respecting that alliance which public report says has been negociated by Abbé Montague; being persuaded that, besides the injury which the Protestant religion would receive from such an union, the counsels of your Eminence might tend to raise too high the power of the English monarch. I was not sufficiently well informed to speak positively of the fact, but I gave them clearly to understand that, even if the report were well founded, neither the religion nor the prerogatives of the people would, in consequence, be in a worse condition than if under another queen; for the rest, they would find it more advantageous to favour than to oppose it, since your Eminence would in that case have more power to secure to them all the public and private conventions which might be stipulated in an accommodation. One who came to see me this afternoon, did not fail to refer to this subject in order to inform me that the publication of this marriage should be postponed, until the king of England has made an agreement with the parliament, and to assure me that in the conditions which will be presented to him, no mention will be made of it, so that he may retain entire liberty to follow his inclinations in the matter. I continued to declare that I had very little information on the subject, and did not fail to assure him, on the other hand, that your Eminence would feel greatly obliged by the good-will which they manifest towards you by their resolutions, and by their wish to remove all obstacles calculated to overthrow an establishment in which you would be so much interested. I have also been visited, this afternoon, by an English earl, who came to inform me that a resolution had been adopted by some of his order, to despatch a gentleman this evening to the queen, to inform her that they wish that the king of England would pass into France, to concert measures with her for drawing him thither, and to take a course which will be determined by the news which this envoy brings back; she will also contribute to induce them to place entire confidence in me, which was necessary in order to enable me to perform the service required of me. I have informed M. de Brienne of this, that he may announce to the queen of England that I am acting by order, and that she may not make this negociation take another course; from which it will be perceived that, if no change takes place in the present state of feeling, the king of England will be

obliged to repair to France, notwithstanding the repugnance which his ministers feel to such a proceeding, and the mediation of his Majesty will be solicited, if any difficulty is thrown in the way of the treaty: which I think will probably occur, as the rulers of the kingdom and all the Presbyterians declare that they will not receive him without rather rigorous conditions, which the royalists affirm that he will never accept. I have communicated to the former, that we should not be opposed to any condition which had reference to their safety, in order to remove the scruples which many entertained about trusting to France, through fear that your Eminence would free the royal authority from all restraint; and I may say that, in making this declaration, I have spoken in accordance with the opinions of the wisest royalists, who think that the restoration of the monarchy is not to be expected without some limitation. If any advances are found to be in conformity with his Majesty's intentions, I shall continue to act and speak in the same manner, and it will be necessary to perform what I have led them to hope in reference to the offer of mediation, and the reception of the king of England in some maritime town of Picardy. As the approach of the parliament gives reason to believe that the affairs of England will be brought to some issue before his Majesty's return from the frontier, and the absence of your Eminence will not enable me to receive your orders in regard to any accidents that might arise, you will be pleased also to let me know in advance what you think should be done for the king's service in this conjuncture, and whether the correspondence which I maintain with some of the leaders of the government, might be made to contribute to the advancement of his designs. When I am better informed, I shall be better able to act. Nothing of any importance has occurred abroad during the last few days. General Monk continues to reform the army, and remove from it the old officers and soldiers to fill up their places by men of more obedient minds. He has presented an engagement, on his own part, during the last few days, to those who remain in office, by which they bind themselves to conform to whatever the next parliament may judge advisable for the welfare of the nation. The houses of some noted sectaries have been searched, and some arms found; and, under the pretext of some apprehension of their ill-will, Colonel Lambert has been

imprisoned in the Tower of London. The elections are continued daily without paying much attention to the qualifications appointed by the late parliament, and in some localities royalists have been elected. Colonel Massey, one of the most zealous of this party, and who formerly did not dare to appear in England, has not scrupled to offer himself for election, and having found the people of Gloucester well-disposed towards him, some disorder arose between them and the soldiers, to appease which the Council sent for the colonel; but after having heard him, he was set at liberty, and no one is refused permission either to enter or leave England. The secretary of the plenipotentiaries who are in Denmark, was sent off last week with the orders which I requested might be given him. The ministers of Sweden assured me that the States-General had disapproved of the cessation of hostilities, agreed upon by their ministers in Zealand, and the other mediators, because the king of Denmark had refused to accept the treaty which was offered to him; but I do not see this news in the letters of M. de Thou, and the Dutch ambassador declares that his superiors desire nothing so ardently as peace in those quarters. He even came himself to read to me the answer of the States-General to his Majesty, accompanying it by many fine protestations, but without mentioning the speech of M. de Thou. There still appears to exist a favourable disposition towards Portugal, and the ambassador expects to-morrow to obtain a favourable resolution upon his propositions requesting permission to levy twelve thousand men for the service of his prince, without any limitation of time. The idea has occurred to obtain from him some advantages in return for this concession, such as liberty of conscience for the English residents in Portugal; but he has no power to grant anything, and his predecessor in the embassy was disavowed for having given himself a little too much liberty in this respect. You will have learnt from other sources that the suspension of hostilities between Dunkirk and Flanders, is prorogued for six weeks. There is no news from Scotland; Ireland still remains in the same state, and the assembly at Dublin has not dissolved, or given any heed to the orders sent from here: deputies are expected to arrive from that country in a few days, and it is generally believed that they have sent to the king of England, with propositions. The same report has lately been spread with regard to the General. I am, with respect, &c.

(55.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, April 22, 1660.

I HAVE been again assured, during the last few days, that the majority of the Council hold the same views as I stated in my preceding letter, and that the king of England will be invited to repair to France, in order to treat with the parliament through the mediation of his Majesty, if any difficulty arises respecting the accommodation. I observe also a great change of opinion with regard to the queen, and those who appeared most opposed to her return are now most favourable to it, having adopted this view together with the resolution to invite the king into France. Chancellor Hyde's agents continue to oppose it, and have already induced him to go to Breda, in order that, finding himself removed thither, the negociation may be opened there, and being continued there, that minister may have a greater share in it than if the treaty were made in France. As he proposes munificent rewards to everybody, and is considered to have great influence over his master, those who regard only their own private advantage will probably defer to this desire, without caring very much which course would be most honourable or most useful to the nation. It is, moreover, greatly to be feared that private accommodations, or the general inclination which now exists to recall the King without conditions, will frustrate the measures which the leaders of the Council are taking, and that the approaching parliament will disregard all the considerations which they may urge in order to restrain the youthful ardour of the members of that assembly. The General alone is capable of preventing these results, and he professes that he will not lay down his arms, until both public and private interests have been placed in entire safety. Nevertheless, complete belief is not given to his words, and he begins to be more reserved than before towards those ministers of the Council whom he once treated with the greatest confidence: which has led them to suspect the existence of some private treaty, especially since the journey which one of his relatives has made to Brussels. Some are even persuaded that he will recall the King before the parliament meets, in order to obtain for himself all the merit of the action, and the Council repents that it did not take this course; but it is now too late, as the session of the parliament is so near at hand, and the ministers of State hold too conflicting

opinions to come to an agreement in so short a time. Some are desirous to follow exactly the treaty of the Isle of Wight, others wish to append additional restrictions thereto, and some are willing to content themselves with the safeguard of the ancient laws of the realm: this last opinion is held in common with the people. This diversity of opinions will not prevent some resolution from being taken, perhaps even before I can receive orders and instructions, with regard to the course which I shall have to pursue in the event of the King's return into England. His return may perhaps be hastened also by the jealousy excited by Lambert's escape from the Tower of London. It is believed that he must have some plans in connexion with the sectaries, and some of them have hinted to several discontented officers that in a few days they might be able to give them employment. A proclamation was issued yesterday to order the prisoner to surrender within twenty-four hours, and 100*l.* sterling were offered to any one who should apprehend him. The danger does not, however, seem to be very great now that the old troops have been reduced, by the change of officers, to such a condition that they have presented to the General a declaration assuring him of their submission to all that he, the Council, or the Parliament may think it advisable to do for the establishment of the civil government. Such obedience does not exist in the army in Ireland. The assembly at Dublin still continues to meet, and has ordered the arrest of a number of the Catholic nobility, under the pretext of some insurrection. It is confidently affirmed, that their deputies have offered to receive the King of England, upon certain conditions, the principal of which has reference to the disposal of the confiscated lands, which he has refused to confirm, as it would be to ruin those who have followed him; but the army will also have some difficulty in resolving to leave go its hold. Scotland has of late talked of following the example of Ireland, and it has been discovered that a quantity of arms had been conveyed thither; one of the principal men of that country has, however, assured me that no movement will take place until they see what England will do; and she will be obliged to go faster than the Council and the Presbyterians wished, in order not to be anticipated. The Presbyterians are beginning to be apprehensive of the bishops, whose entire abolition they are determined to demand, and some ministers, during the last few days, have preached

against the impiety of the royalists, as well as against the extravagance of the sectaries, not anticipating less danger from one party than from the other; and some have been so unrestrained in their discourse. that the General was yesterday, at his own table, compelled to maltreat a gentleman, formerly a colonel in the troops of the King of England, and afterwards to send him to prison, for having publicly made use of threats against those who have taken any part in the revolutions, without considering that they are the same persons who are now at the head of affairs. The people, in several counties, have appeared incensed against them, and have refused to vote for them. These are, my Lord, the present inclinations and actions of this country, my narration of which I will not fail to continue by every post. There is nothing from abroad, except the confirmation of what the Dutch ambassador told me regarding the peace with Denmark, which is advancing even more rapidly than it did in Poland. I am, &c.

(56.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, April 26, 1660.

I CANNOT yet inform you of any progress in the affairs of this country, as nothing has occurred during the last few days; profession is still made to me of a great disposition to negociate in France, and at the present moment the principal members of the Council are assembled with the nobles who have taken part against the king, in order to settle the conditions, the manner, and the place of accommodation. so that the matter may be thoroughly digested when the parliament meets. It is also to be decided what noblemen shall take their seats in the Upper House, and although their decrees are not to be considered as laws, we may judge from this step what course the negociation will probably take. Chancellor Hyde's agents neglect no means of preventing France from having a share in it. and they accompany private offers by a declaration that the king will accede to whatever may be desired of him; this course appears more likely to be taken by the ministers than that of contesting anything, and thus giving a plea for demanding his withdrawal from affairs, as some desire, and among others those who are favourable to the queen. It has also been reported to me that offers of money are being made through the States-General, and that the princess-dowager

proposes the marriage of her daughter to the king of England, and the pretext of religion would make such a marriage very agreeable here; nevertheless, those of the Council whom I know, are anxious to thwart the scheme, and with this view to withdraw the king from Holland, if possible. I left them again this morning, in the full intention of sending an accredited envoy to Breda; which would have been done before now, but for fear of giving umbrage to the general, whom they hope to gain over to their views. One of his relations has, however, conveyed propositions to the king on his behalf, and if they are well received, the others will have some difficulty to succeed in their plans, as the decision of affairs lies in his hands. The time for decision is not far off, and, according to some statements, it will be announced before I shall be able to receive letters of credence to the king of England. This is not an unfounded opinion, since, on one hand, those here are anxious to lose no time, and the interests of the king's ministers urge them to avoid all delays and interventions. There also appears to be a disposition to an insurrection among the sectaries, and since the escape of Lambert some of the old colonels are no longer to be found in their houses. The general's company of guards has been sent out of London to repress any tumult that may arise, and some of the most distinguished sectaries have already been arrested. Strict watch is also maintained every night in the city of London, and the general has changed the garrison of the Tower, under the pretext that some of the officers had favoured the escape of Lambert, to whom it was said that liberty would be granted upon his parole, but that his wife has declined the offer: he is not, however, in a position to do any mischief unless all the army revolts, and this is not at all to be feared now that all the suspected officers have been cashiered. To retain the soldiers in their obedience, they have been promised payment of their arrears, and, as they are so scattered, they would have great difficulty in uniting with one another before they were defeated by the militia of the country. I am, &c.

(57.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 3, 1660.

I HAD nothing to write by the preceding post, as the affairs of England were then in the same state as my last letter had informed you. Since then, great alarm has been

felt about an insurrection of sectaries in different localities; some had assembled in the neighbourhood of York, with the intention of taking it by surprise; and, at the distance of twenty leagues from London, Colonel Lambert had gathered together a body of cavalry which the first accounts stated to consist of three hundred men. Orders were immediately given to send against him most of the troops which are in London: the levy of the London militia was also directed to hold itself in readiness, and that of several counties, which has not been set on foot to be placed within the hands of persons considered to be too violent royalists, was also ordered out. At the same time some of the most distinguished sectaries both in this city and in the country were arrested, and the general was making preparations to go and attack Lambert before he could increase his forces; but news arrived at the end of last week, that he had only two or three hundred men, and this morning we were informed of his defeat by a party of six hundred horse without much bloodshed; his troops having abandoned him one after another, he was taken prisoner with a few others who have been officers in the army, and they are on their way to London. The militia were immediately countermanded, and the universal topic of conversation now is the punishment of the offenders, whose leader was proclaimed a traitor on the day before yesterday. His capture seems entirely to ruin all his party, against which the people entertain so great an aversion that unless the old troops had mutinied, it could not have met with better fortune. Some royalists could have wished it to hold out a little longer, in the hope that the present authorities would have been thereby compelled to hasten the return of the king upon more advantageous conditions; whereas they will now have entire liberty to act, and will perhaps impose harsher conditions, as they have nothing to fear from the sectaries. There has been a great contest of late between those noblemen who have been engaged in the war since the year 1648, and the others, because the former are desirous alone to constitute the Upper House; the general supports their design, and even presents his name to authorize it, professing that he would not be able to restrain the army if those who have not been on the side of the parliament were admitted, as most of them would advocate the recall of the king without any other limitation to his authority than that of the ancient laws. The question was

discussed at Whitehall, on the day before yesterday, between the general and some of the noblemen who are to take their seats, and to-day, the others having gone to press him, they rather irritated than persuaded him; it is even proposed now to exclude from the House of Commons a hundred or six score members who are found not to possess the qualifications fixed by the last act of the parliament, through fear that if they are allowed to enter, they will be too violent for the king, and that some question will arise in the assembly as to how the Upper House shall be constituted; which might very probably happen even if the exclusion took place, as there would remain enough other members equally opposed to all the projected limitations, of which those that are most difficult to digest have reference to the *veto* upon the parliaments, and the disposal of offices and places in the Council. It appears to me, nevertheless, that they will only be brought forward in order to obtain from the king some particular advantages in favour of the heads of the government and of the fifteen noblemen who compose the Upper House. There are none who do not neglect the public advantage in order to attend to their own private interests; but both good and evil are in the hands of the general, and all appearances indicate that he has resolved to please the king; at least it is certain that his family has particular connexion with the minister Morley, who has been sent here by Chancellor Hyde, to make terms with all parties, even the Tremblers (Quakers), in which he seems to be succeeding. But as he is not equally gracious to all, jealousies are beginning to be felt, which may be prejudicial to the affairs of the king, who I learn has not been again much pressed to proceed into France, according to the assurance which had been given me on the subject by some members of the Council. This resolution meets with considerable opposition, and, not being supported by any offer, cannot but be subjected to change Some attempts to debauch the soldiers in Ireland have been made on the part of several cashiered officers, but the authors of them were immediately discovered and arrested; the same was attempted with the garrison of Hull with the same success. As for the troops in Scotland, they have sent a declaration, similar to that which the officers here presented to the general some days since, and which the soldiers were afterwards required to sign in order to make more sure of them in the recent conjuncture. All these move-

ments have not prevented the Council of State from signing, three days ago, the treaty which its commissioners had agreed upon with the Portuguese ambassador. It gives his prince permission to raise as many as 12,000 infantry and 2,500 cavalry, without limitation as to time; he may also hire vessels for his service, according to the necessity of his affairs, even against the king of Spain; and the ambassador took his leave this morning in order to go and persuade his court to avail themselves of this permission. But it may be presumed that if the king of England returns, obstacles will be thrown in his way; and the people are so persuaded that trade with Spain is of such importance that, with whatever limitations they may hamper the power of the king, he will be left at liberty to make peace with that crown. The affairs of the north leave me nothing to add.

(58.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, May 6, 1660.

The letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 16th of last month, gives me only instructions to inform you of what has come to my knowledge regarding the affairs of this country. The parliament began to assemble yesterday; the Commons, after listening to an exhortation, went into their usual room, chose their Speaker and other officers, and then, upon an overture made by the general, appointed a committee to examine into the elections. At the same time the Lords of the year 1648 went also to take their seats and choose their officers; some of the young ones presented themselves at the door in order to enter, affecting to be ignorant of the request which the general had made to two of them, who had visited him on the previous evening, not to take their seats for a few days, assuring them that no injury should accrue to them from this delay; but they allowed themselves to be persuaded to yield to this desire, and retired. Nothing of importance has passed as yet this morning in either House, except that the Commons have recognized the Lords by sending an answer to a proposition for a fast-day made by the latter yesterday. This proceeding is much discussed, and was opposed only by one of the deputies who sat in the preceding parliament. It is also of some consequence that the general now consents to the admission of all the young peers, who will take their seats to-morrow, and

has ceased to talk of excluding from the House of Commons those deputies who were elected in disregard of the qualifications. It is inferred from this, with much reason, that the return of the king will take place more speedily, and on less harsh conditions, and this matter will doubtless be soon brought into consideration. There are still two parties,—one, composed of those who favour Hyde, is anxious that the proposition shall be sent to Breda; the other, devoted to the interests of the Queen of England, desires that the King shall be invited to carry on the negociation in some town in France; and the latter desire that I should continue to support their plans, and this course seems to me to accord with the wish felt by his Majesty to contribute to the restoration of the King of England, which can never take place if he is not in France, and if the parliament remains firm in its present determination to allow no innovations upon the ancient laws of the country. The Presbyterians are ill satisfied about it; but if the general does not keep his word to them, as there is reason to believe he will not, the inclination of the people will be followed, and before the month has elapsed, the King will be in England. Your Eminence knows what it is necessary to prescribe to me, and what course of conduct I shall have to pursue, and whether I am to remain in England until the revolution is completed, which I cannot do without new letters of credence. The House of Commons has also this morning appointed some committees, read an act against vagabonds, and voted thanks both to the general and to the colonel who took General Lambert prisoner without bloodshed; this was not because the latter had only about three or four hundred cavalry, but having approached the troops of the State in the hope that they would join him, his own men changed sides, and he was not sufficiently well-mounted to escape being taken. Only seventeen jacobuses were found upon him. Two of the principal officers of the army shared his fate, and they were all brought to London on the day before yesterday. The Council heard them in their defence immediately; they acknowledged that they had taken arms under the pretext of opposing the royalists, and that if those who had pledged themselves to assist them had performed their promises, a considerable army would have been on foot in a few days. They were sent to the Tower, and a proclamation has been issued against some other officers, commanding them to surrender on pain of being

declared traitors. Several citizens of London are also suspected of being concerned in this conspiracy, and it is intended to extort large sums from the accomplices, although these appear as yet to be only disaffected officers. The London militia met on the day before yesterday; the general was not present, having been requested by the Council not to expose himself. Some regiments shouted *God save the King!* and the tendency of all the people is not now more favourable to him than it was adverse to the deceased king at the beginning of the war. I am, &c.

(59.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, May 10, 1660.

The approbation with which your Eminence, in your letter of the 28th of last month, honours my conversation with Mr. Thurloe, leaves me nothing more to desire than that all my offers may produce their due effect. I thought this was almost certain a few days before the meeting of parliament, and the principal members of the Council then thought they would be able to gain the general over to their views, whatever efforts were made to induce him not to take any measures with France; but affairs have, it seems, changed their aspect, and there now appears so strong a desire to recall the king without conditions, that the offer of a place of meeting and of mediators is altogether superfluous; it would not be without some difficulty, even if obstacles arose to an accommodation, that France would be preferred to Breda, although everybody is of opinion that there is no reason to place the one in the scale against the other, since the Chancellor's emissaries declare that the King of England does not wish to treat anywhere else than in Holland or in London, by means of commissioners to whom he will give full powers. It was of this minister, and of the Marquis of Ormonde, that I intended to speak when I wrote that the English who were about the person of the prince were attempting to prevent him from passing into France; their aversion to France has been sufficiently displayed in the reports which they have spread, and in their conduct with regard to me, for I have received no civility from them, although I have communicated to them my orders in respect to their master; they have also declared themselves very strongly against the queen. Nevertheless, if those who desire to see her in authority had been more active, they might have frustrated all the measures of these two ministers, who are generally disliked here, and prevented

the journey of the king to Breda, whither they are of opinion that the queen will proceed, if the negociations are of long continuance. There is no reason to believe this, and the Presbyterians are losing all hope of obtaining conditions now that they find themselves abandoned by the general, upon whom all their expectations were built. After having promised them not to allow any other lords to enter into the Upper House but those who have been engaged in the war against the King, he has contented himself with excluding the young peers for two days, and has declared to them that this was done only to satisfy the others; and those even who have borne arms against the parliament will take their seats. He has consented to the admission of all the members of the House of Commons without regard to qualifications; which leads the army to murmur, and weakens the credit of the Presbyterian party, the leaders of which accuse the general of having duped them. He is not also without cause of complaint against some of them, having discovered that they were making preparations for dividing among themselves all the offices under the crown, and that in order to effect this arrangement more conveniently, the old Lords were desirous alone to compose the Upper House, under the pretext that the others were too great royalists. Their prudence has been frustrated, and the votes of the young members will prevail in both Houses, which have not met since the 11th of the month. The Upper House determined, at its last session, to confer with the Commons upon the form of the government, and in order to prepare for so important a deliberation, to-day has been spent in prayers; to-morrow, therefore, those letters will be read which the King has written to the general, to the Council, and to the officers of the army, dated on the 14th of this (last?) month; they were presented by a gentleman who is a near relative of the general, and who it is said was sent into Flanders by him. He refused to open them except in the parliament; nevertheless, no one doubts but that he is acquainted with their contents, and neither he nor his wife scruple openly to declare their inclination for the restoration of the King. The only difficulty has reference to the conditions; to-morrow we shall hear whether the accommodation is capable of longer delay. As the revolution may occur in a few days, I cannot but await orders with some impatience; it would even have been advisable to send me letters of credence to the parliament, in order that, if the service

of his Majesty or of the King of England requires it, I might be in a position to request an audience. I cannot otherwise act in public, as the House of Lords does not acknowledge my letters to the previous parliament. If it is judged advisable to send me new credentials, let them be with the quality of ambassador extraordinary, as there is no longer any necessity for me to make a protracted stay here, and moreover it will evince greater esteem towards the new government. The general has been confirmed by the Upper House in his office for so long as may be considered necessary, and he continues to change the old officers of the army. My Lord Falconbridge has obtained a regiment of cavalry from him. A number of officers of Lambert's party have been taken of late, and he has made another attempt to escape from the Tower this afternoon. A report is current that the troops in Ireland have been fighting with each other, because one party desired to recall the King with conditions, and the other without any, and that the latter had the advantage: the troops in London have appeared rather restless of late, and spoke of presenting some request for the confirmation of the confiscated lands, some titular proprietors of which have already taken possession without a legal order. This will be one of the principal questions of the accommodation. I am, &c.

(60.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 11, 1660.

THE news which I wrote yesterday will have prepared your Eminence to receive that which I have to communicate to-day, which I think it worth while to forward by an express. As soon as the parliament had met, the President of the Council laid before it the letter which the king had written to the general, but which neither he nor the Council had been willing to open; one of the members at the same time informed the House that a gentleman was at the door on behalf of the king. He was brought in forthwith, and presented another letter, with a declaration, which, in substance, after an enumeration of the evils which have afflicted England for so many years, invites the people to put an end to them by submitting to their old form of government, offers an amnesty for the past with no other exceptions than those whom the parliament shall judge right to exclude from it, refers to it the arrangement of the confiscated lands, appoints a national

council to settle differences of religion, and promises complete satisfaction to the soldiers. The perusal of these letters was followed by several harangues in praise of the king, and the general applause of the whole assembly, which immediately resolved to send deputies to thank him, and voted him 50.000*l.* sterling. The same gentleman had presented to the House of Lords a letter containing the same declaration, and they had adopted a similar resolution of sending deputies to express their gratitude to the king, whom the Speaker called "our sovereign lord." A conference was then held between the commissioners of the two Houses, during which it was determined that England should be governed as in former times, and that means should be taken for obtaining the king's return as quickly as possible. This result was approved of by both Houses, and they are now employed in drawing up an answer to his letter, which is to be presented to him by two lords and four members of the House of Commons. The general has requested permission to reply privately to his own letter, which has been granted him: and the town council has also received one this afternoon, which gave it great satisfaction. Their joy is now manifested by the great number of bonfires which have been lighted, and the other tokens of delight of which an enthusiastic populace are capable. There is no room for doubt but that by the end of this month, or the beginning of next, the business will be entirely settled, and the king in England. Not but that some are anxiously desirous to take precautions for the future; but the excitement is too great, and no one would be willing to draw down upon himself the resentment of the public by propositions which cannot but be rejected, as the general is undoubtedly acting in concert with the king, and the declaration has been agreed on between them. The bearer of the letters is a relation of his, and the same who it is thought was sent into Flanders by him. I have to-day seen some Presbyterians who were greatly cast down by this change without conditions, and they are under apprehensions that the general has stipulated to reserve a portion of the army under the pretext of keeping the sectaries in order, but in reality to maintain the royal authority against the prerogatives of the people. We shall shortly be able to judge with greater certainty, and at present it only appears to me that no preparations are being made yet for disbanding the troops; that the king's declaration will be reduced to the form

of an act of parliament without addition or abridgment; that no further proposition will be made for the exclusion of the Chancellor; that the government will henceforth be administered according to the ancient laws; that the deputies of both Houses will set out in two or three days to convey the first submission of the parliament; and that they will speedily be followed by another more solemn deputation to accompany the king, whose return will take place, according to all appearances, at the beginning of next month. It would be desirable for me to be informed before that period of the course of conduct which I am to pursue in this very extraordinary conjuncture; and this is the reason why I send the present courier to the frontier, unless M. de Brienne judges it more advisable to detain him at Paris. The post of the day after to-morrow will inform you of the consequences of to-day's resolutions. Meanwhile I have only again to entreat your Eminence that if I am ordered to present the first compliments to the King of England, it may be in some higher quality than I have sustained towards the preceding governments, and that, as this will oblige me to incur new expenses, I may receive the necessary funds from the King. I shall expect both these favours from the kindness with which you are pleased to honour, &c.

(61.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, May 13, 1660.

Since my letter of the day before yesterday, the army has followed the example of the Parliament and city; and when the general communicated the King's letters to the officers, they assured him of their obedience by a declaration. Some, however, had a little while before attempted to induce the general's wife to prefer the advantages of sovereign authority to all those which the King of England will bestow upon her family; but she rejected this proposition, and her inclinations have undoubtedly contributed largely to the revolution in the government. Some soldiers were found among the troops who preferred to leave the army rather than submit; but their number is very inconsiderable, and the offer which the King has made, in his declaration and letters to the general, to retain the services of the army, will probably appease their discontent. The Parliament, in pursuance of its resolutions of the day before yesterday, has appointed a Committee to draw up the acts which are to be passed by the

King before his return, and to choose the deputies who are to convey to him the answers both of the Upper House and of the Commons. The anxiety manifested to belong to this deputation has caused the Lords to name six of their body, with the Earl of Oxford at their head, and the Commons will send twelve. The general will also send his answers by his brother-in-law, and the city by some citizens. This large deputation will not leave until the beginning of next week. It has also been resolved by the Upper House that all the Lords shall be invited to take their seats, without excepting either those who have been in arms for the King, or the Catholics; and a proposition was also made to proclaim the King, but it was not adopted, any more than one to request the King not to leave Breda. Besides the present of 50,000*l.* sterling which the Parliament has sent him, and the 6000*l.* sterling which have also been voted for the repairs of Whitehall, the city of London has made him a present of 10,000*l.* sterling, and some private citizens are going to send him 16.000*l.* sterling. Although all vie with each other as to who shall manifest most zeal, there nevertheless exists some fear lest his power will remain too absolute, and will be maintained by an army, which he talks of keeping up. This distrust will probably give rise to some debate upon the proposed acts. No further propositions have been made for withdrawing the King from Breda, as there is no appearance of any negociation, for the voice of the people demands the return of the King, with no other limitation than that of the ancient laws; and in order to banish the idea which was entertained of drawing him into France, those who are acting for the King have published that the ministers of the King of Spain are very much displeased with him, because he refuses to return thither, on the invitation of the Marquis of Caracena. The bad offices which some have been anxious to render the Queen have produced no effect, and there is a strong disposition to grant her all that she can desire from England. I have been requested to convey to her a letter from the general's wife in answer to that which she had received from her; her return into England will, it is thought, balance the power of the Chancellor, and all the parties appear to be already formed; this will be something to occupy attention after the return of the court. Such, my lord, is all that present affairs give me occasion to write to-day. * * *

(62.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 17, 1660.

I HAVE to-day merely to inform you of the progress of the general acquiescence which all England has given to the re-establishment of royalty. General Montague, having received a letter from the King containing the declaration which was read in the Parliament, communicated it to the principal commanders of the fleet, and it was forthwith made known in all the vessels with all the marks of joy which the officers and sailors were able to express. Ireland has displayed similar conduct, and has even gone so far as solemnly to proclaim the King, which seems to have given rise to the resolution adopted by the parliament to-day to perform the same ceremony in London to-morrow, with all the solemnities customary upon such an occasion. It has also been determined this afternoon, in the House of Lords, to invite the King to come to England as quickly as possible. This determination will be communicated to the House of Commons to-morrow, and if it concurs in it, as there is reason to believe it will, although some are not greatly disposed to urge his return, the King will soon be in England, as orders have already been sent to the fleet to hold itself in readiness to take him on board, and news has arrived that he has proceeded to Middleburg. The other debates in the House of Lords during the last few days are of less importance; they had resolved to invite all their members to come and take their seats; and since, under the pretext that this might give occasion for some discontent, they have excepted the Catholic peers from this invitation, without, however, refusing them admission. They have also, upon a complaint made by the sectaries, of some violence done them by the populace, directed the Mayor of London to prevent such disorders; granted to the Duke of Buckingham and three other individuals an act to deprive the possessors of their property, of liberty to dispose of it, or even to make use of the income derived from it; and the answers made by the two Houses to the King's letters have been read. They are worded with all the respect which could be expected from good subjects, and the death of the deceased King is disavowed therein, and even termed a horrible murder. The Commons have, on their side, laboured daily to complete the acts which are to be presented to the King by their deputies. These have reference to the general amnesty, from which all those will be excepted who acted as

judges of the late King, most of whom have already retired from England; the second states that all confiscated property shall remain in the same state as it is now, until new orders are issued; the third sanctions the present Parliament, although it was not, according to custom, summoned by the King, but this is not to be taken as a precedent in future. There is a fourth which relates to religion, and refers its differences to a national synod. The Commons have also consented to the restitution of the property of the Duke of Buckingham and the others; but a similar order having been proposed in favour of another lord, the general put difficulties in the way of granting it, pretending that such a step would be likely to displease the army; which terminated the affair, and even postponed until to-morrow the debate upon the duke's case, most of whose property is in the hands of the Protector's heirs. There are a great many deputies who are of opinion that the presentation of these acts should be deferred until the King's return; but those who are called *Old Presbyterians* desire to have this security before receiving him; and it is even said that some of them have reproached the general because he has taken no precautions for the liberty of the people. Upon to-morrow's debate will depend the speedy return of the King, which, at latest, cannot be deferred beyond the commencement of next month. The deputies of the two Houses will set out in two or three days: the city will send their representatives with them and will charge them with a present of 2,000*l.* sterling for the Dukes of York and Gloucester. The general has already despatched his brother-in-law with his answer and the declaration of the army. It is said that some movement has been executed in Scotland by the sectaries and Presbyterians who were engaged against the King during the late wars, and that even Major General Morgan, who is in command of the troops, supports them; but this is not probable, and the number of those mal-contents would not, moreover, be sufficient to prevent the arrangements which are being made. Many other equally ill-founded reports are current; among others that the King of England is very much displeased with France, that we have a design for supporting an insurrection of Lambert's party, and that I have pressed the general to constitute himself Protector. The general's brother-in-law has undertaken to give testimony as to what has passed on the latter point, and it will be shown

that I have urged him to use language very far removed from such a proposition. The source of all these impressions which it is attempted to give, proceeds from the animosity felt against the Queen and France by some of those who enjoy the King's confidence. It is also pretty openly declared that Sweden has of late greatly disobliged England; but I cannot believe that the court which is about to return will entertain so much bitter feeling, and moreover it will not be in a position to take offence at the past, especially against powerful States. Mr. Lockhart has gone to Breda to make his peace, and the news has been confirmed of late that the ministers of the King of Spain have attempted to entice the English monarch into Flanders, in order to oblige him to restore Dunkirk. It only remains for me to subscribe myself, &c.

(63.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, May 21, 1660.

THE narration of what has taken place since my last letter will inform your Eminence that the King of England was proclaimed on the day before yesterday, first at Westminster, and then in front of Whitehall and in the city of London, with all the solemnities customary upon such occasions, which, however, are not worth relating. Nothing extraordinary occurred except the demonstrations of joy given by the people. On the same day, bonfires were again lighted in front of all the houses, the Tower guns were fired, and all persons of respectability distributed wine among the people. I thought it right to conform to this example, and advised all the other foreign ministers who consulted me to do the same. It is also to be remarked that the proclamation was made in terms which, it is said, are not generally used, in that they declared that a proclamation is unnecessary, and that the king's right to the crown is indubitably acquired to him by his birth. The arms of the republic, which were in the House of Parliament, were, after having been exposed some time, burned by one of the members of that body who had taken a leading part in the first movements of England. And, in short, every one is attempting to display peculiar zeal, without considering whether the prerogatives of the people, of which they were formerly so jealous, are injured by it or not. The members of parliament, who act with less vehemence, wished to postpone this proclamation; but they did not see any chance of

succeeding, and confined their efforts to a proposition that after having done everything that had reference to the interest of the king, the popular acts should be taken into consideration: and during their last sessions strenuous efforts have been made to complete those which have reference to religion, the amnesty, the sales of confiscated property, and the payment of the arrears due both to the army and navy. In reference to the second point, it was proposed to shut up the ports in order to prevent the escape of those who had any share in the death of the king; but it was judged more advisable to leave the door open, and all of them are not even excepted from pardon. It was also considered that those who have acted as Judges in the high Courts of Justice, or as members of the Committee of Safety, ought not to be admitted to the benefit of the act which confirms the sales or gifts of confiscated lands, from the number of which those of the Duke of Buckingham and three others have been excepted. The idea had occurred to some of the servants of the queen to except also the domains set apart for the dowry of the queen; but others, with more foresight, are of opinion that it will be better not to mention the matter just now, lest Hyde's faction should take the opportunity of making some overture prejudicial to her interests: and the same do not doubt that after the king's return, unless he is opposed to it, she will have no difficulty in regaining possession of all her rights. The general also professes his willingness to act in her service; and consequently no one doubts but that perfect liberty will be left her to return into England, and the jealousy which some entertain of the influence of Chancellor Hyde leads them to wish that she may come to England as quickly as possible. The Parliament has, by an express deliberation, decreed that the king shall be invited to come over without delay, and Admiral Montague has been ordered to proceed with all his fleet to the coast of Holland in order to receive the royal commands. The deputies of the parliament are also to set out to-morrow with a large retinue of noblemen, in addition to those who have already gone over to Flanders; they were to be charged only with the answers of the two Houses; but instructions will be given them in reference to all that is desired of the king, and they will accompany him on his journey, which cannot be postponed longer than twelve or fifteen days, as he has been advised by his most zealous servants to hasten it in order to

prevent the factions which might be formed, during his absence, against his authority, which some are greatly desirous of limiting; among others, they propose to present him with the great officers of the kingdom. A committee was established a few days ago, to regulate the ceremonies and manner of his reception; another is labouring to provide funds for the support of his household, and to obtain the income which is to be given him; and the general's wife is attending to the furniture. The parliament has to-day returned thanksgivings to God for the change which has taken place, and the ministers of religion have been ordered to pray in future for the King and the Dukes of York and Gloucester; but the queen is not included, which is contrary to the custom of past times. The reports which prevailed about an insurrection in Scotland have proved untrue, and all the advices which are received from the provinces announce entire submission. The garrison of Dunkirk has not failed to follow this example, and Mr. Lockhart has gone to the king by order of the Council of State. It is doubted whether he will be continued in the government of Dunkirk, and whether liberty will be left to the king to restore that place to Spain; but such affairs are not mentioned yet, but everything is deferred until his return. I have now only to sign myself, &c.

(64.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, June 3, 1660.

The letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on the 29th of last month has just been delivered to me, and I have also received a despatch from M. de Brienne; but the course which the affairs of England have taken will not permit me to perform the services which they direct. You will already have remarked, from my previous letters, that the intrigues of the friends of Chancellor Hyde have met with more success than my efforts to induce the king of England to go into France, and that the excitement, both of the parliament and the people, has frustrated all the measures which were being taken for transferring thither the negociation of the treaty projected by the leading members of the Council of State, in the expectation that the general would remain true to the sentiments which he professed to them that he entertained. If the advantages which have been proposed to him have disposed him to abandon his friends, the lukewarm-

ness of the queen's partisans has been no less favourable to the Chancellor's designs: they throw the blame upon the court of the Palais Royal, and, in fact, Lord Jermyn did not go into Flanders until after the arrival of a gentleman who was despatched from hence to the queen, in order to learn her intentions with regard to the overtures which I had made, and which they did not think would be agreeable to her, as she had not written to them on the subject. Whilst this explanation was awaited, the general pledged himself to support the retirement of the king to Breda, in preference to any other place, unless he had any objection; if the queen had sent a messenger to him before, or if they had acted with a little more spirit, this blow would have been prevented. There now remains nothing to do but to thwart the designs which the Chancellor may form to the prejudice of France; his ill-will is said to be undiminished; but different reports are current with regard to his influence, and many flatter themselves that it will not be difficult to destroy it. This cannot, however, be done by the general; he is not reputed to be either a counsellor or a courtier; and his relations, to whose advice he yields great deference, are gained over, among others his wife's brother, who claims the honour of having disposed him to restore the king. It was through him that I kept up a correspondence with the general; and since the Chancellor's agents have won him over to their interests, he has discontinued to see me. The old Presbyterians are more disposed to oppose the prime minister, and if the number of young men with whom both Houses of parliament have been filled had not made them lose courage, they would now have stipulated for his removal. As one party apprehends that their efforts will be useless, and the others are buoyed up with hopes, it is impossible to count on their inclinations. I have not neglected to enter into connection with some leading men, who are most anxious for the return of the Queen of England, that she may support them and combat the power of the Chancellor before it is more strongly established. Although there appears to be no obstacle to her return, one cannot answer for the sentiments which the King will entertain when he is here, and perhaps difficulties will be raised on the part of the parliament, in order to give him a pretext for postponing her return. Already, even, it is said to be inopportune, before affairs are settled, that it will produce factions in

the court, and that religion will be prejudiced thereby. Nevertheless, these considerations will have no weight unless they are insinuated underhand by those who are known to speak the mind of this court; thus upon this depends the judgment which we must form of this minister's credit: he will have no right to be offended if he is not capable of keeping the queen in France, I have not failed to act in her service with all the zeal which you prescribe; and she, as well as the king of England, will undoubtedly have been informed of the performance of the orders which have been sent me, as some of the most distinguished members of her party with whom I have been on intimate terms since my arrival in this country have undertaken to bear this testimony on my behalf. They are even persuaded that, as early as the time of Sir George Booth's insurrection, France was ready to declare against the republic, as we then used language which appeared to them to be very positive propositions. The last demonstrations which his Majesty has given of his good-will will finally convince the King of England that my conduct has been sincere; and I entertain no doubts about presenting myself to him in a manner of which he will approve, if his arrival precedes the orders which I am expecting by my courier. I shall also continue to humour the general, to whom I spoke of the interests of the queen at my last visit, inviting him to earn the glory of her restoration as well as of that of the king, to meet whom he started yesterday, with no other troops than his company of cavalry, in which a number of noblemen have enrolled themselves. It has not been judged advisable to repose so much confidence in the old regiments, although the officers are well-intentioned; and so some other companies of gentlemen have been formed, among others one under the name of the general's lady, of which an English earl has not disdained to become the lieutenant. The citizens of London have formed others, and after having displayed themselves in the streets, they all set out yesterday on their march, in consequence of the information given by the deputies of the parliament that the king intended to embark on the day before yesterday, that he would land at Dover, and would immediately proceed to Canterbury, where he would make some stay. The two Houses of Parliament will await his orders here, and, as they are making no preparations to go and meet him, I have also thought it right to remain in London. The House of Commons has, during the last few

days, been engaged in hot debate upon a proposition made by one of the members to remove all Catholics from the court, according to the ancient laws. The pretext of this banishment is derived from some insurrection which has taken place in Ireland, and of which the Catholics are thought to be the principal authors. The question has not yet been decided, as part of the assembly did not think it advisable to enforce such rigorous measures at the present crisis. This proposition has not prevented all the Catholic peers from taking their seats in the Upper House, and up to this hour the others have not taken offence at their conduct; but if the proposed act is passed, they will probably be attacked. The two Houses have had some discussion in reference to their prerogatives: because the Commons having requested the concurrence of the Lords in the confiscation of the property of the king's judges, the latter readily gave their assent, but in their act treated the Commons as complainants and not as judges, and declare that they can act in no other capacity. The levying of money has also occupied this assembly, of which the general took leave before his departure. There is news from Ireland that the Irish Convention has sent a deputation to the king, and made him a present of 20.000*l.* sterling and 4000*l.* to the Dukes of York and Gloucester. Several of the officers of the Court of Justice which condemned the king, and one of his judges, have had the boldness to present themselves before the House of Lords, who sent them to the Tower. I cannot, my lord, behold without gratitude the approbation with which your Eminence honours my conduct, and the assurances of friendship which you renew to me; but when I consider, on the other hand, the state of my affairs and the advantages which most others derive from their services in various offices, I cannot but accuse my fate, and imagine that fortune is less favourable in England than in any other place. This reflection augments the desire which I feel to return into France, and I supplicate your Eminence for permission to do so, after I have executed the orders which will probably be forwarded to me by my courier. I hope that this favour will not exhaust your bounty towards him who has the honour to be, &c.

(65.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, June 7, 1660.

I acknowledged by last post the receipt of the letter which your Eminence did me the honour to write to me on

the 25th of last month, by the courier whom I had despatched; but having postponed my answer until to-day, I must, before I speak of what has occurred in England during the last few days, assure you that I will not fail to execute punctually your Eminence's commands, as well as the orders sent me by M. de Brienne. Now that the King of England has returned to his own country, they are reduced to my employing myself in the queen's service, and against Chancellor Hyde, and to forming opinions in the parliament by which his Majesty may be able to profit. As it has not only just now appeared to me that these were the only services which could be expected from me, this has been my principal occupation ever since the king's return has been certain, and I have treated of it with different persons, among others with the most influential Presbyterians, who have pretty openly declared themselves on the queen's side, and against the Chancellor, whose credit gives them offence; but they have almost entirely lost courage since the general acceded to the resolutions adopted by the parliament to recall the king without conditions; and their only resource at present is in his conduct with regard to the queen, it being certain that, unless she can induce him to recall her into England, the Chancellor and the Marquis of Ormonde will easily raise up obstacles to her return under the pretext of religion. And the overtures which have been made of late against the Catholics do not seem to have any other object than her exclusion, at least this is the opinion of many persons, and that these two ministers are closely united against her return, foreseeing that their credit would be injured by her presence; but as to the pecuniary interests which she may have, full satisfaction will doubtless be given her. Lord Jermyn, the Earl of St. Albans, who arrived here yesterday evening, will have found out what is to be expected from the king, and the review which he has already made of his friends will have given him plenty of information upon which to take measures; and if my assistance can contribute to the advancement of his designs, I will not fail to act with all the zeal which you prescribe. As far as the parliament is concerned, it is impossible to say of what use its inclinations will be. The king has returned into possession of such complete affection of his subjects that nothing can now be contested with him, and the forces which have been placed in his hands by the general's entire resignation place him in a very different position from that of his an-

cestors. The most clearsighted are of opinion that henceforward the prerogatives of the people will depend upon the will of their sovereign; and although he is but slightly armed, nothing will be difficult to him if he follows the example of the Protector, who governed England with an army of seven or eight thousand men, although all the nobility and most of the people detested his authority. It has already been proposed to dissolve the present parliament because it was not convoked in due form; and appearances clearly indicate, that if the ministers do not find it well-intentioned, they will not leave it long in existence. The House of Lords appears the strongest; but those of whom it is composed are not capable of great enterprise, and the veterans who have fought during the late wars have lost nearly all their haughtiness. The Earl of Manchester belongs to this number; but he thinks he has deserved much of late, and the hope of obtaining some high office will render him very circumspect. I had formed an intimacy with him some years since, and had even first addressed myself to him in order to induce parties here to invite the king of England to pass into France, and he professed that he would labour to that end; nevertheless, I have not seen that he has done anything in the matter, and since his brother's letter has been given to him, he has certainly been to see me, but in company with others; and in answer to my questions, he deferred conversation on the matter to some other time. The Countess of Carlisle is more disposed to enter into intrigues, and has appeared so for a long while; but her credit is greatly diminished, as is also that of her brother, the Earl of Northumberland. It is to be feared that the rest of the Presbyterian party, who are well-disposed towards France, will have the same fate. As for the general, I have kept on good terms with him, having anticipated the orders which were sent me to congratulate him upon the happy success of his enterprise; but no one believes that his opinion has much influence in deciding the questions discussed in the Council of England, especially in reference to foreign affairs; moreover his confidants are entirely devoted to the interests of the Chancellor. One of them, Mr. Morrice, has been made a minister and Secretary of State; the others have received other rewards in the same way. Different opinions, nevertheless, prevail with regard to the Chancellor's influence, and the King of England does not wish it to be considered so great as many represent it;

some think that the Earl of St. Albans will have a great deal to do with affairs of state. These opinions need confirmation, and this cannot be given until after the king's arrival in London. He disembarked at Dover on the 4th of this month; the general received him on the beach kneeling, and surrounded by all his army. The king bestowed upon him all imaginable caresses, called him his father, and after a short conversation in private, and when he had received the homage of the nobility under a dais which had been erected, having at his sides the Dukes of York and Gloucester, who received similar respects at the same time and remained covered, the king entered his carriage, into which the two princes and the general at first took their seats; the Duke of Buckingham also got in without being invited, and although he had met with a very cool reception. The king took the road to Canterbury, along which having met all the companies of gentlemen in battle-array, he mounted on horseback, and so entered into that city, where he has remained up to this time: during his stay there he has given the order of the Garter to the general and to the Earl of Southampton, with this difference, that the Dukes of York and Gloucester fastened the sash and garter on the first, and the herald-at-arms performed the same office to the other. A paper was also read containing the reasons for the general's promotion, which were derived from his connection with the royal family, although only by way of bastardy, and from the services he has rendered in liberating the three nations from slavery. Mr. Morrice and Sir Ashley Cooper, who both belonged to the old parliament, have been also favoured for the latter reason, and the Garter has been sent to General Montague, who commands the fleet under the Duke of York, who has been appointed Lord High Admiral. All this company will leave Canterbury to-day on its way to London, into which city the king will enter to-morrow at the head of the nobility. The brevity of the time allowed for preparation not permitting great magnificence, the two Houses of Parliament will await him at Whitehall. Nothing of importance has occurred in these two bodies of late. The Lords have granted the Commons the liberty to put on their hats, which they formerly disputed, and the latter have resolved upon a law against the Irish Catholics, together with a renewal of the laws which banish from the court all who are of the same religion. The king, when embarking, forbade the Catholics of his suite to

accompany him, from which we may infer that uniformity of opinion exists upon this point. I am preparing to present the letters of credence which have been sent me. The ambassador from the States General who was here has been recalled in conformity with the desire which the king expressed when at the Hague, and the Portuguese envoy greatly apprehends that he will not be admitted to an audience after what has happened to his colleague resident in Holland. * * *

(66.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, June 10, 1660.

I HAVE nothing to communicate to-day, except the entrance of the king into London, as I have had no opportunity, since his arrival, of presenting to him his Majesty's letter, and no remarkable solemnity, or great magnificence was displayed upon this occasion, but only great declamations and expressions of joy. In the morning the king left Rochester, which is distant about ten leagues from this city, and mounted his horse when about two leagues off, where he was met by all the companies of the nobility, and by five regiments of the army; he marched forwards in the midst of these corps, and was soon met by the Mayor of London, accompanied by the Sheriffs and a number of citizens on horseback, at the utmost confines of his jurisdiction. The Mayor presented his sword to the king, who returned it into his hands, upon which he remounted his horse, and carried his sword before him, still remaining bareheaded, and having General Monk on his right hand, and the Duke of Buckingham on his left. The King rode immediately behind him, having the Dukes of York and Gloucester on either side, but a little behind him; in this order he passed through the whole length of the city, through two ranks of pikemen of the city militia, and of the guilds of merchants who stood with their robes and banners in a hedge behind the barriers which had been fixed up in all the streets, in some of which the water-conduits were filled with wine. The king found the members of both Houses of Parliament at Whitehall, according to the orders which had been given them on the preceding evening, and harangues were made in their name, for the Upper House by the Earl of Manchester, and for the Commons by their Speaker. The day was ended with the erection of bonfires in front of all the houses, and the boom-

ing of the guns at the Tower of London. All day yesterday was employed in receiving all those who presented themselves, and to-day the Dukes of York and Gloucester, have taken their seats in parliament for the first time, in virtue of the patents granted them during the reign of the deceased king, as the princes of the blood enjoy this prerogative only by commission. They advocated the desire which the king expressed through the medium of one of the Lords, that some of those who were created peers by the deceased king should be admitted: and although the House of Commons had projected an act to annul all these titles, and the House of Lords was willing to ratify such a resolution, not one of them ventured to oppose the proposition, and this acquiescence opens the door to all those titles which have been created since the commencement of the war, which will render the Upper House more august in numbers than it formerly was. This afternoon, the Council of State began its sessions, and Mr. Hollis and the President of the preceding Council, were admitted. The Earl of Manchester and Lord Robarts, considered to be two of the ablest men in the nation, are also to be added, although the latter was a most zealous opponent of the king, and his appointment is a cause of chagrin to some of the old royalists. It has been judged advisable by this junto, to publish three acts of parliament, the principal of which has reference to the confirmation of sales; the act which renews the ancient penal laws against the Catholics has been presented on the part of the Commons to the House of Lords; that enacting the imposition of taxes to the amount of three millions, payable in three months, has passed, as has also the prorogation of the sessions of the Courts of Justice; and these are the principal deliberations which have occurred of late. The affairs of the queen are soon to be brought under discussion. I informed the Secretary of State, this morning, that his Majesty had sent me letters of credence, and the Earl of St. Albans, who came to see me this evening, assures me that the king was, this afternoon, well-disposed to receive me, notwithstanding the impression which my enemies tried to convey to him that, instead of acting on his behalf I had pressed the General, of late, to constitute himself Protector. This is a report which was prevalent some time since, but which has no other foundation than the civilities and offers of friendship which your Eminence ordered me to make

to him a few days after his arrival in London. The authors of the rumours are those men who are desirous to irritate the public mind against France, and reflectively against the queen. I postpone until the next post further remarks upon this subject, and upon the influence possessed by the Chancellor, as I have no time to write more to-day; and after having informed you of the excuses sent me by Mr. Lockhart for not having visited me, and which he has based upon the fact that his disgrace is partly owing to the great friendship which he had displayed towards France, I will subscribe myself, &c.

(67.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

My Lord, London, June 14, 1660.

I will now satisfy the expectations which my previous letter will have led your Eminence to form with regard to Chancellor Hyde, by informing you that it is reported to me in different quarters, that the King of England determines upon no affair of importance without his concurrence, that he has bestowed no high office on any one who is not on good terms with this minister, that he attributes his restoration to him, and that he is quite disposed to devolve the burden of government on to his shoulders; but that nevertheless, he is offended if he is termed the prime minister, and believed to have so much influence. The Earl of St. Albans gave me to understand, that the King's favour is divided between the Chancellor and the Marquis of Ormonde, but that he thinks that the former will prevail in the end; the one may be more active and devoted to business, and the other very much beloved by the king; both are equally discontented with France and attached to Spain, and the fear which they entertain with regard to the return of the queen induces them to seek opportunities for irritating the mind of their master against France. If they had succeeded in this as well as in inspiring the people with an aversion towards us, a war might be expected; since the return of the court nothing else is talked about, and many are of opinion, that, as it is necessary to give some occupation abroad to the English troops, this could not be done less prejudicially than by employing them against France. But I do not learn that the king coincides with these views, and the reports which have reached me up to this moment, represent him to be better acquainted with his true interests than to entertain such an idea. Public rumour

also asserts that he will not receive me, and I cannot but suspect that this report has some foundation, as I have received no news from the Secretary of State, although when I informed him that I had letters of credence, he promised to inform the king thereof immediately, and to give me an answer without delay. I sent to him this evening to inquire the reason of his silence, and he deferred all explanations until to-morrow. As regards the position of the Earl of St. Albans, by his own avowal, when he came into England, he did not think himself very much advanced in the king's good graces, and many had confirmed me in this opinion; but he has met with greater attention during the last few days, and he assures me that he found the king inclined quite otherwise than he is represented to be, both with regard to France, and to myself individually: consequently he has no cause for complaint, after that the General's brother-in-law has declared that I had charged him with no proposition which could tend to destroy the good-will of the General, whose influence it is not thought will be of long duration; for the Presbyterians whom he has deceived (by recalling the king unconditionally, contrary to his promise), will, if possible, urge him to extremities, and the Chancellor is temporizing with him. Some of the leading Presbyterians have been summoned to the Council; most of the others are the best qualified of the peers who discharged the same duties under the deceased king, or under the present monarch: the Duke of Buckingham is the only one rejected, and it is reported that the king himself made him leave his room, telling him that he would send for him when his services should become necessary. His past conduct is the cause of this disgrace, and of late he has not behaved himself in a manner calculated to efface the remembrance of it. Most of the principal offices have also been filled up; the Marquis of Ormonde is Grand-Master, and aspires to be Viceroy of Ireland; the General also aspires to the same post, although he has been appointed Master of the Horse; the Earl of Manchester is Lord High Chamberlain; the Chancellor has assumed his seat both in the Court of Chancery, and in the House of Lords, of which he is the Speaker; the office of Postmaster-General, with a salary of 1,000*l.* per annum, has been given to the Duke of Gloucester. It is proposed to place upon a permanent footing a regiment of 1,200 cavalry; and although it is said that the General is opposed to the

plan, the king will doubtless decide the matter according to his own pleasure. He went to the Parliament, on the 11th instant, by water and without ceremony, to give his approbation to the acts which authorize the session of that body, the continuance of the sessions of the Courts of Justice, and the tax of three millions of pounds sterling, which the Council of State had examined on the previous evening. This was done after the King had made a rather short speech to the two Houses, in which he expressed his gratitude for the affection which they had lately manifested towards him, and assured them that he would carry into complete execution the declaration which he had sent to them from Breda: the Chancellor spoke after him, and—after having exaggerated the importance of the miraculous revolution which has just happened, praised the General and represented the King to be strongly desirous to observe the declaration of Breda—he pressed the Parliament to conclude the act of amnesty by naming those who are to be excepted from it, in order that the others may be not only exempted from danger, but also from fear. He also recommended the act which has reference to religion, and gave them to understand that regard must be had to tender consciences; and advised the satisfaction of the army by the payment of the arrears which are due to it. On the very next day measures were taken in reference to the first of these acts, and it was resolved that those of the king's judges who shall not surrender themselves within fifteen days, shall be declared traitors; two of them have been taken, and one of these is the brother-in-law of the deceased Protector, and was the main cause of the downfal of his son. Search has been made during the last few days for other criminals, namely, the men who betrayed the king, some of whom were found out by Mr. Thurloe's clerk when he was at Breda; and he himself, as I am told, has revealed the others; among others have been found one of the leaders of the party commanded by Sir George Booth, and another, a Colonel greatly esteemed by the King, who has been lodged in the Tower. Two gentlemen of the Duke of Buckingham's retinue belonged to this same cabal, and have taken flight. There was also arrested, this morning, at Whitehall, in consequence of information which has arrived from the country, a man who is suspected of entertaining designs upon the person of the King, the first act of whose reign, which has appeared in public un-

der his name, is a proclamation against drunkenness, a vice to which his partisans are accused of being rather addicted. Two other proclamations have been published since, in conformity with the resolutions of the parliament, which prohibit the dispossession, without a justice's order, of the holders of confiscated lands, both in England and Ireland; these are orders chiefly agreeable to the people and the army. The act renewing the laws against the Catholics has not yet passed the House of Lords; and it was even resolved, at the time when the Common Prayers were ordered to be read in the House, that no one should be compelled to attend; for that would have excluded the Catholics. This same body has today taken the oath of fidelity to the King. Some members of the Council of citizens on Saturday, took advantage of the absence of several of their colleagues to resolve on a requisition to Parliament for the maintenance of the Covenant; but this morning, the Council being full, this resolution was revoked; and the generality of the nation have no other thought but how they may please the King. It only remains for me to subscribe myself, &c.

(68.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, June 17, 1660.

The promise which the Secretary of State made to me, on the 14th of this month, that he would give me a speedy answer, has been duly performed. He sent a man yesterday to me, who told me on his behalf that, although the King is desirous to maintain a good understanding with all his neighbours, and particularly with France, and is disposed to receive those envoys whom his Majesty may send to him, he nevertheless could not admit me to an audience to present my letters of credence, because, in the course of my negociations, I have acted in opposition to his interests, and that the King therefore desired that I should quit England. I professed to be surprised at such a message, and that I expected to have found more coincidence with the friendship of his Majesty, whose assurances of good-will I was instructed to renew; that as for my conduct, it had been in conformity with my orders, and that if it were rightly understood, the King of England would have more cause to praise me for it than to complain of it. The messenger, taking no notice of this answer, asked me what reply he should give with regard to my departure from

England. I told him that I would inform his Majesty of this desire without delay, as I could not withdraw without his permission. He reiterated that as the resolution which he had communicated to me had not been taken without mature deliberation, it would not be changed. I informed him that I should doubtless be directed to conform to it, as it was not his Majesty's custom either to send or to maintain ministers in any State where they were regarded with an evil eye, but that I hoped that until the arrival of such orders, the King of England would behave towards me in the way in which he would wish his ambassadors to be treated in France. I thought it advisable to use these general terms, as they leave the door open to a change of opinion, if that of the King of England were founded only upon some particular dislike, as I was informed it was, and I thought I could not better disabuse his mind than by the mediation of the Earl of St. Albans, whom I had visited on the evening before I received this message, in the hope of discovering whether such an answer were meditated, as I had heard; but he would not enter into any explanations; he only desired that as soon as the Secretary of State had sent it to me, I should communicate it to him. This I did, and this morning he came to see me, and told me that he was not at the Council when it was resolved to refuse me an audience, but that, having inquired the reasons for this step, he had learned that the zeal which I had displayed under the deceased Protector, and the ambiguous language which I had used of late towards General Monk, (which might have inspired him with the idea of following Cromwell's example,) having persuaded the Council of my aversion to the restoration of the King of England, it had been considered prudent not to admit me. I stated in reply that I have executed the orders of his Majesty under all the governments of England with all the zeal which can be expected from a good servant; that nevertheless, my actions have never been intended to injure the interests of the King of England, but only to establish perfect harmony between the two nations according to the orders given me, and that I did not think that any one could find fault with me in this respect; that even if they would thoroughly examine into what had taken place in the different conjunctures of affairs, it would be observed that France had always guarded the interests of the King of England so far as to avoid, in treaties, the slightest expressions which could de-

rogate from the rights which he possessed by birth: and as regarded my compliments to the General, they were not subject to any interpretation, especially after I had on the same day so distinctly expressed myself to his brother-in-law, who acknowledges the truth of my statement; that all my advances and offers tended to favour the restoration of the royal family by the intervention of France, and to contribute at the same time to the private advancement of the General; that for the rest, if the information which had been given to the King of England prevailed over these truths which I could easily corroborate by my orders and my despatches to the court, and if the ill-feeling which seemed to be excited against me would not allow the King of England to see me, his refusal ought at least to be signified in a less disobliging manner than that which had been employed; that it was merely necessary to defer the audience, and meanwhile to beg his Majesty to send some more agreeable person, and even to take a public resolution not to treat with those foreign ministers who were employed under the preceding governments, in order that the ill-treatment which I had experienced might not be attributed to any particular hostility to France, as public reports declared, or to the animosity of some of the members of the English Council, who, in this case, seemed to follow the dictates of their passions rather than those of propriety, and to desire to alienate rather than maintain friendship between the two monarchs; that as for myself, I should not act in this spirit, and that, very far from involving the nations in a quarrel, I should only strive to prevent it, and to induce his Majesty to consent to my withdrawal, as my residence in England could no longer conduce to his interest; that I only wished, (in order that it might not be brought as a reproach against me that, for want of explanation, I had allowed credit to be attached to such ill-founded reports,) that the King of England had sent to me the Secretary of State, or some other member of his Council to confer with me, it being sufficiently common among friendly princes to use this circumspection, and that doubtless he would have been satisfied with the interview; that I could also have wished that the character with which I am invested had been more respected, and that the message which had been sent me had been brought by some well-known person; that as I could not receive such a message from an unknown individual, I intended to request the

Secretary to communicate it to me in writing. I even communicated to the Earl the letter which I was prepared to send with a copy of his Majesty's, which, by justifying my conduct, removes all pretext for the resolution adopted here. Meanwhile, the Earl professed his disapprobation of their whole proceedings with regard to me; he also entered into the overtures which I made to prevent any animosity being excited, and desired that I should postpone the dispatch both of my letter to the Secretary and of the present, until he had spoken to the King, undertaking to represent to him that as the information which has been given him may be incorrect, he should not take further proceedings until he had first entered into some explanations, and had sent to me the Secretary of State with this view; or, if he finds that the King cannot be induced to change his resolution, to suggest to him to take a general determination not to treat with the other ministers who were employed before his return. I did not request either one thing or the other, and so I did not think it right to refuse him a few hours' delay to give time for repentance, or at least for taking some course which may give his Majesty less cause for irritation: but as I am uncertain as to what he will do, and as he informed me that an express is to be dispatched from hence to France to-day, to inform you of the reasons of the refusal which has been given, I should fear that your Eminence would be uneasy, unless I informed you immediately of what had taken place. I will also add, that I have been assured, upon good authority, that the Chancellor and the Marquis of Ormonde, feeling hurt at the mortifications which they received in France, particularly during their master's last residence there, and at the attempts which have latterly been made on our part in order to remove them, and inspired still more with fear of the return of the Queen of England, have induced the king to act in this manner towards me, in order to sow the seeds of division between the two courts, and by taking their revenge thus easily, to free themselves from the danger they would incur from the presence of the queen. The Earl of St. Albans had given me this information at his first visit, and nevertheless persuaded himself that he had warded off the blow, as the King had charged him to tell me that I should be well received; but although I requested an audience on that same day, it was not granted me, and the resolution which has been sent me

gives reason to believe that it was hoped that I should press for an interview, in order that it might be refused; whence I infer that the Earl of St. Albans is not in the secret confidence of the King, and that the Chancellor's influence augments daily. It has not appeared to me consistent with my dignity to pay him a visit, as I know he is so ill-intentioned towards France. I had, nevertheless, expressed myself clearly enough to several who are strongly attached to his interests, to give him reason to expect every civility from me; an intimate friend of the Marquis of Ormonde has also informed him that I should behave in the same manner towards him; but these advances were not sufficient to dissipate their ill-will, or to change their policy. As for the General, his credit appears rather in the distribution of gratuities and benefactions than in the Cabinet, where he has quite ceased to carry on any intrigues; and I have not, therefore, thought it worth while to call upon him in this emergency. I only intend to convey to him some reproach for the interpretation which he placed upon my civilities, and for the effect, at least, of the pretext which it furnished; but I do not expect that any of the steps which I can with propriety take will be of any influence, and after the sensation which will be produced by the answer which has been given me, this court will consider itself no longer in a position to swerve from it; wherefore I suppose that it will be judged expedient to send me permission to withdraw as quickly as possible. If your Eminence should consider it consistent with the dignity of France to manifest some discontent at these proceedings, and should wish at the same time to punish their authors, it would only be necessary, instead of sending extraordinary ambassadors forthwith, to induce the Queen of England to come hither under the pretext of mediating a reconciliation. I have seen many persons who are of opinion that she ought to be conveyed hither by France, lest England should display no wish to recall her, and lest the ministry should meanwhile strengthen themselves to her prejudice, as affairs could not be administered by persons more badly-intentioned than those who have been called into the Council by the Chancellor; the others are noblemen whose votes have not very much weight, or who like the Earl of Manchester, are striving to gain a position. Some of the latter would become bolder if they had the Queen to support them, and there is no more certain means, than her presence, for

sowing division in this court. Measures may be taken upon the information which has been given me, and it must be admitted that I have pursued a course of conduct which leaves his Majesty room either to express his resentment or to accept the reasons which may be urged to justify their proceedings here; and I am persuaded that it will always be time to assume a tone of complaint and haughtiness, if it is judged more honorable than that of concession to the desire felt for my withdrawal, and that your Eminence will follow rather the dictates of moderation than those of anger. If I have mistaken your choice, it will be easy for me to retrace my steps, as I feel very much disposed to assert the dignity of France. I shall await orders on this point with considerable impatience, as I cannot henceforward remain in England with satisfaction, either in my public or private capacity, and I hope that your Eminence will speedily deliver me from this unpleasant position. You will be pleased to consider that as I cannot leave the country without paying my debts, which amount to twenty thousand pounds, and as I have no credit either at Paris or in London, I should be greatly embarrassed unless the court would supply me with means to liquidate them; the appointments which are due to me amount to a larger sum, and they could not be paid more opportunely. I entreat your Eminence to be good enough to take this into consideration, and I hope that the same person who brings me orders will also supply me with the means of executing them. If I can execute any commission in your service, I shall consider myself very fortunate to end my residence in England in this way. I have no more news of any importance to write to you just now. The Upper House has been engaged during the last few days in a debate upon the question whether in the absence of the Chancellor, it could appoint a Speaker or receive one from the King, and the discussion has not yet terminated. The Commons have named the seven judges of the King who are to be excepted from the amnesty. Major-General Harrison, and Colonel Jones, the brother-in-law of the deceased Protector, are the only ones arrested. One of the others, named Scott, having taken refuge in Flanders, was captured by the English there; but notwithstanding that the Marquis of Caracena was requested to give him up, his escape was connived at, and with some justice, as this unfortunate man, who was Secretary of State under the Republic, was a pensioner and a valuable

servant of Spain. The English court continues to complain of the favour which has been shown him. Yesterday the Earl of Manchester proposed, in the House of Lords, the payment of the Queen's dowry, which was granted without opposition, and this morning the House of Commons acquiesced in it, and appointed Commissioners to confer with the Lords upon the subject. Nothing has as yet been said of her return, or of any foreign affairs; and it only remains for me, &c.

Postscript, June 18, 1660.—I delayed the departure of the present courier because the Earl of St. Albans sent yesterday evening to tell me that he would come and see me this morning. He has not failed to do so, and informed me that the King had told him that he was too fully persuaded that I had acted in opposition to his interests to be willing to enter into any explanation, and immediately spoke to me of the secret article which had caused his departure from France, in terms which justify the belief that this act was employed to irritate him. I informed the Earl that, after I had done my duty by giving the King better information, I had nothing more to do but receive my dismissal, and that I should greatly regret to see that resentment for a civility which necessity had extorted had prevailed over the remembrance of all the benefits which he had received from his Majesty's friendship. The Earl also told me that they intended to adopt the plan of not admitting any other foreign minister who had treated with the preceding governments; and I answered that his Majesty would not take into consideration anything which concerned them, as the treatment which they experienced could not serve as a rule for that which he had a right to expect for his ministers. This is the present position of this matter. I feel persuaded that your Eminence will judge it necessary to withdraw me from hence without delay. * * *

(62.)—M. de Bourdeaux to Cardinal Mazarin.

My Lord, London, June 24, 1660.

No change has taken place in the resolutions adopted here with regard to me: I have not, therefore, judged it expedient to make fresh attempts to disabuse the King of England, after the answers brought to me on his behalf by the Earl of St. Albans. My principal care of late has been to discover the origin of these untoward dispositions; and I have been assured

by different persons, among others by a nobleman who requested that his name should not appear in my letters, that the discontent of the Chancellor and of the Marquis of Ormonde are the real causes; that they thought they would execute a tremendous vengeance by refusing me an audience in so disobliging a manner, and that in order to dispose their master to this step, they made use of the confessions of Mr. Thurloe, who has revealed the secrets of foreign as well as of domestic negociations. The same person informed me that the King of England feels great irritation at the treatment which he received latterly in France, and is far from considering himself under any obligations to us; apprehension of the return of the Queen of England has also something to do with their conduct here, and I may say that public rumour makes the aversion to be greater than it possibly can be: that many even think they cannot pay court better than by speaking against France, and that some members of the Council have given me to understand that it would be a crime for them to hold any correspondence with me. Lord Berkley has not ceased to visit me with the permission of the Duke of York, and on the day before yesterday he told me that he had received orders to assure me that his master entertained a grateful recollection of the favours which he had received from his Majesty; he even paid me some compliments on his behalf, and the conversation which we had persuaded me that the remainder of the court are of very different opinions from the Duke of York, that the General had joined the Chancellor, and that this cabal was all-powerful. But their ill-will is not to be feared, as the King of England appears disposed not to follow blindly their dictates: and moreover, his precarious position renders the friendship of neighbouring princes extremely necessary. Although the Parliament is very submissive, and no one either in the Upper House or in the House of Commons dares to speak against propositions which are supposed to originate with him, there are, nevertheless, many malcontents already, and religion will probably soon increase their number, if the King is bent, as it is said, on re-establishing the bishops. Requisitions to this effect are being got up in several counties, and attempts are being made to overcome the repugnance of the troops to this establishment. Nothing has as yet been said about the matter in Parliament. The act of amnesty is still under consideration, and within the last

few days the House of Commons has named several of those who are to be excepted from it, as far as their property is concerned. Sir Harry Vane is the first on the list, and the most distinguished members of the preceding governments will have the same fortune. Attention has also been given to the affairs of Ireland, and according to the project of the Commons, the condition of the Catholics in that country will be worse than it was during the disgrace of the King of England. The House of Lords does not treat of matters of so much importance; it has during the last few days, resolved upon taking an oath of fidelity which is very repugnant to the Catholics, inasmuch as it obliges them to acknowledge the King as head and defender of the Church; but they hope that they will not be forced to take it, and many noblemen of the Presbyterian faction also are no less opposed to it. A resolution has been taken by this House to pay the Queen's dowry; but there is some difficulty about deciding whether the lands which had been allotted to her shall be withdrawn from the hands of those to whom the State has sold them, and the General declares that such a proceeding would offend the army. He has reduced the body of cavalry which was to be permanently established, from 1,200 to 200 men; and still they are not positively certain whether they will be maintained by the Parliament. The Scotch demand the evacuation of the English garrisons which are kept up in their country, that their Parliament shall be re-established, and that the ancient prerogatives of the Council of State which was appointed in 1650 shall be confirmed. This is indirectly demanding the maintenance of the Covenant, and there is very little disposition to please them by granting this point. It only remains for me to assure you, my lord, that I am, &c. * * *

(70.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, July 1, 1660.

I AM still in expectation of those orders from the King with which my courier must be charged, and his delay cannot but cause me uneasiness, as I find I am useless as regards the service of the public, and treated in a manner which plainly indicates that my departure from England is ardently desired. During the last few days I have obtained tolerably evident proofs of this in a domestic squabble: my steward took to flight when the time came for him to give an account of his

administration; he has not only excited all my creditors by giving them the alarm of my departure, and induced some to seize my horses, but even had the insolence to cause the arrest of one of my secretaries in virtue of a warrant signed by an ordinary justice. As the first action was brought by Englishmen and for debt, I did not think I could obtain much satisfaction for their proceeding, and endeavoured to pacify them; but it appeared to me that I should injure the prerogatives of my character, if for a dispute between two of my servants I addressed myself to an ordinary justice of the country, and so I had recourse to the King by means of the Earl of St. Albans, who had undertaken to have satisfaction given me even for the first injury; nevertheless, having mentioned the last to the King, he found him quite astonished at my pretensions to the character of an ambassador during the remainder of the time that I may be in England; his answer, even before he had heard the request, was uttered in a tone which completely stopped the Earl's mouth. I did not fail, before I was informed of it, to write to the Secretary of State a letter in which I demanded that my secretary and steward should be restored to me; and to strengthen this demand, I appended a copy of my letters of credence. I also saw the Earl of Manchester, whose office obliges him to protect the rights of the ambassadors, and informed him that the injury which had been done me did not regard me personally, but my character, and thus could not but offend his Majesty; he was convinced of the truth of what I said, and promised to speak to the King about it. Yesterday evening, he called on me to tell me that he had performed his promise, and the King had charged him to assure me that Monsieur de Bourdeaux should be treated with all civility, but that as ambassador of France I must expect nothing, and that my secretary should be restored to me, without making any mention of my steward. I declared to him that I had claimed nothing in my own right, and that although the King of England was kind enough to treat me with so much consideration, I would nevertheless not take advantage of his kindness on the present occasion, but only claim respect for the quality with which I was invested in England, and which could not be contested me: I insisted again that complete justice should be done me by the restoration of my two servants, who could not recognize any other jurisdiction but mine, and that of France after my return, if

they had any disputes with one another; and I thanked the Earl for his good offices. He promised to use all his efforts to obtain for me entire satisfaction, and I do not doubt that he will meet with some success, but not such as I could wish, since they persist in making a distinction between me and his Majesty's ambassador, and by this declaration manifest more animosity against France than against myself personally. This untoward disposition has been again confirmed to me by the same Earl of St. Albans, who came to relate to me the manner in which the king had received my complaint; he told me in very precise language, that this proceeding had no reference to me, that it had a deeper meaning, and that the Chancellor's faction were strongly desirous to excite animosity between our two States, hoping thereby to raise obstacles to the Queen's return; that even they might intend to obtain for her similar treatment in France to that which has been given me here. It has also been reported to me that two hours before he mentioned this incident to the King, he had had a long conversation with him with regard to me, taking occasion to do so from the information which General Monk's brother-in-law had just given him that he had been urged to declare that I had charged him, on the part of his Majesty and your Eminence, to induce the General to constitute himself Protector or to maintain the republic; this has been imputed to me now for some time, and I was publicly justified from the charge at the Hague by this same brother-in-law. He expressed his joy that the Earl of St. Albans had unmasked this knavery, and nevertheless his discontent did not break out a moment after; from which it may be inferred that my conduct has not caused it; this is the feeling both of this Earl and of Lord Berkley and other courtiers, who have borne testimony to the King, of their own free-will, that I had appeared very zealous in his service. It is to be hoped that their judgment is ill-founded, and that my withdrawal may stifle these seeds of misunderstanding before they take deeper root. If my debts permitted me to leave London, I should be greatly tempted to forestall the permission which will doubtless be sent me; for I am no longer in a position to negociate, as the ministers of the Council avoid meeting me. I do not learn that any foreign affairs have as yet been discussed in the Council; it has only been reported to me that the King will not ratify the treaty which has been made between the two Kings of the North, because he con-

siders it too disadvantageous to Denmark, whose interests are much more considerable than those of the Swedes. Its resident has even had an audience, although he acted under the preceding governments; and we must expect that the Dutch, notwithstanding the peace, will foment the present inclinations of this court, of which I have no important news to write. The Parliament has at length finished naming those who are to be excepted from the amnesty as far as their property is concerned. Besides Vane and Haslerig, Fleetwood, Lambert, and the Speaker of the preceding Parliament, a great friend of General Monk, have had the same fortune; and they have augmented the number of those sentenced to death by the minister Peters, whom they have not yet caught, and by a major whom they have brought from Ireland, who is accused of having cut off the head of the deceased king, and who confesses that he was on the scaffold in a mask. Some of the judges have surrendered themselves, and have been placed in confinement. The Commons have also been occupied with the regulation of the public revenue, and have granted the King during his whole lifetime, a considerable tax upon the markets, have continued the customs and excise-duties, suspended the payment of the public debts contracted since 1648, with the exception of the arrears of the army, and assigned 10,000*l.* sterling for the support of the Queen of England, out of the tax of 70,000*l.* sterling, which is to be levied on the people within three months. All the lands mortgaged for her dowry, which have not been sold will be restored to her, and some means of accommodation will be sought for the others. It was proposed in the House of Lords to take an oath of fidelity, with which the Catholics could not agree, because it contained expressions which entirely destroy the power which the Church of Rome claims to possess with regard to the deposition of kings and excommunicated States; but it is now no longer mentioned, and it is even not very agreeable to the rigid Presbyterians. This same oath has already been taken by several regiments, and it is to be presented to all the old troops, into the command of which persons of quality are being introduced. The King has been feasted every day by different noblemen, and the city is to give him a great dinner in a fortnight. The deputies from Ireland have brought him their submission and 20,000*l.* It only remains for me to sign myself, &c.

(71.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, July 4, 1660.

I DO myself the honour to write to your Eminence only in order to inform you of the arrival of my courier on the day before yesterday, with orders from the King permitting me to leave England, and that I am making preparations to leave London to-morrow, so as to return to France as quickly as possible. The Secretary of State has this evening given me a passport, but not a vessel, for my passage; which does not surprise me after the animosity which has been displayed of late days. My secretary has not been restored to me, although it was promised that he should be; with this exception, I have nothing to desire, as I am very happy that your Eminence approves of my past conduct, and remains persuaded that my actions as well as my words were in conformity with the orders which were sent me. I hope to be with you so speedily as not to make it necessary to enter into any lengthened justification at present, and I shall defer until that time an account of what has passed since the return of my courier. Meanwhile, having nothing of importance to write with regard to the affairs of England, I must thank your Eminence for the kindness you have shown in giving me the means of leaving this country honourably, in order to render you in France all those services of which you may consider me capable. My confidence that you will continue to honour me with your commands enables me patiently to endure the petty mortifications to which I have latterly been subjected; and I cannot but esteem myself happy so long as it shall please you to believe that I am with affection and respect, &c.

(72.)—M. DE BOURDEAUX TO CARDINAL MAZARIN.

MY LORD, London, July 6, 1660.

I HAVE been detained here until now by those who, desirous to prevent a misunderstanding between the two kingdoms, were straining every nerve to change the resolution which has been adopted with regard to me. Yesterday even, they felt entire confidence that they would succeed, and the affair was strongly debated in the Council, the principal ministers of which were in favour of satisfying France. Nevertheless, this evening the King decided the question, and I shall start to-morrow without further delay in order to return to France as quickly as possible. A courier will be despatched

hence at the same time to inform the Queen of what has passed. I have no time now to give you a more exact report, and no prejudice can arise to the public if I postpone the performance of this duty until my return. There is also nothing of importance for me to write regarding the other affairs of England; and I now have only to sign myself with respect, &c.

THE END.

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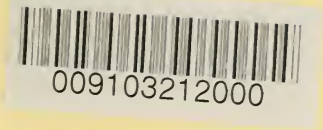

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